

A Line of
Fathers and Sons
from
Henry Woodward
(1611–1683)
of
Childwall, Lancashire, England,
and
Northampton, Massachusetts

Hobson Woodward

Ancestor Stories
Line 1

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First Edition

Turkey Hollow Press
Rowley, Massachusetts
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A Note on the Series

Ancestor Stories is a multivolume series that documents the ancestors of the author. The ancestors profiled in the series are presented in lines of men and lines of women.

In Ancestor Stories, male ancestors are treated in the traditional form: lines of fathers and sons presented from the earliest known “agnate” ancestor to the latest born. Female ancestors, however, are treated in a new way, but one that exactly matches the treatment of their male counterparts. Instead of being described within the biographies of their husbands, women are treated in lines of mothers and daughters presented from the earliest known “umbilical” ancestor to the latest born.

Treatment of women in lines that are mirror images of those of their male counterparts has a major advantage. This method of presentation reveals a facet of family history that is lost in conventional presentation: the transmission of family traditions that once passed primarily from mother to daughter such as food preparation, holiday rituals, and home occupations. The method used here does so without diminishing the presentation of the transmission of traditions that once passed primarily from father to son—professions, appointments, military service.

The description of the lives of men and women in parallel lines comes at a cost. Readers familiar with family history presented in lines of family units headed by like-named men may find it challenging to follow the changing last names in lines of mothers and daughters. The method also splinters the depiction of couples, as wives are treated more as individuals than as parts of their husbands’ households. Spouses may seem to be undertreated in the profiles of their partners. The advantages, however, outweigh the challenges. Here is depicted both of the formerly prevailing conduits of tradition transmission rather than just the one shown in conventional family history presentation. Here is a full picture of ancestors rather than half a picture of the people who came before us.

Primary sources quoted and institutional names cited in this work occasionally include archaic terms and descriptions that display bias toward marginalized people. The language has been retained as a record of the injustices overcome by the targeted people in creating lives of dignity and grace in the face of systemic bias.

Ancestor Stories
Lines Published

Line 1

*A Line of Fathers and Sons from Henry Woodward (1611–1683) of Childwall,
Lancashire, England, and Northampton, Massachusetts, First Edition, 2023*

Ancestor Stories

Line 1

Robert Woodward, 1568–after 1588

John Woodward, 1588–after 1611

Henry Woodward, 1611–1683

John Woodward Sr., circa 1648–1724

John Woodward Jr., 1674–1743

Israel Woodward, 1707–1799

Samuel Woodward, 1750–1835

Samuel Bayard Woodward, 1787–1850

Charles Woodward, 1816–1883

Henry Lynde Woodward, 1845–1906

George Stedman Woodward, 1874–1955

The first sixty-five years of the known history of this line of fathers and sons were spent along the Mersey River in Childwall, Lancashire, England, near Liverpool. The first in the known line, **Robert Woodward**, parented an out-of-wedlock son named **John Woodward** in 1589. Nearly half a century later, by 1639, John's probable son **Henry Woodward** embraced the Puritan creed and followed a Lancashire clergyman from England to Massachusetts.

Sons in the line lived in Massachusetts for the next fifty years. After two decades in Dorchester, Henry moved his family west to Northampton on the banks of the Connecticut River where he farmed and ran a tavern. In about 1687 his son **John Woodward Sr.** moved upriver to Northfield. Attacks by Native Americans drove John south again, this time over the border to Connecticut. For the next century and a half the sons in the line lived in Connecticut, where John's son **John Woodward Jr.** and grandson **Israel Woodward** were farmers.

Israel's son **Samuel Woodward** set a new direction when he turned from agricultural pursuits to medicine. For three decades Samuel worked as a doctor in Torrington, a hamlet in the town of Torrington, Connecticut. Samuel's son **Samuel Bayard Woodward** followed his father in medicine, becoming a leader in the treatment of psychiatric illness. In 1833 Samuel Bayard returned to Massachusetts to become founding superintendent of the state hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Bayard's son **Charles Woodward** left Massachusetts and went to Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, traveling throughout the Midwest and South during a career with the Adams Express Company. By 1860 Charles settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, where sons in the line would live for the next century. In the Civil War the express company served the shipping needs of the Union Army, and Charles witnessed battles and was present at key wartime events.

Charles' son **Henry Lynde Woodward** worked as a Cincinnati businessman. Henry Lynde's son **George Stedman Woodward** also worked in business in Cincinnati, beginning his career as a teenager in the shipping room of the Procter & Gamble Company and rising to the position of company treasurer.

Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited

Ada Woodward Hundredth Article

“One Hundred Years Ago,” Lockland, Ohio, *Millcreek Valley News*, post-24 November 1978, page not recorded. This undated clipping describes a 24 November 1978 one-hundredth birthday celebration for Ada Nellie (Morton) Woodward and was apparently published soon after that date.

All Saints Church Records

Baptism, marriage, and burial records of All Saints Church, Childwall Parish, Lancashire, England; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Parish Registers for All Saints Church, Childwall, 1557–1753*, 1 reel, reel 93694; via “England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” FamilySearch.org.

Anderson, City of Waterbury

Joseph Anderson, editor, *The Town and City of Waterbury, Connecticut, from the Aboriginal Period to the Year Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Five*, three volumes (New Haven, Connecticut: Price & Lee Company, 1896).

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Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635*, seven volumes (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1999–2011); via “The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635,” AmericanAncestors.org.

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Belden, Springfield Somnambulist

L. W. Belden, *An Account of Jane C. Rider, the Springfield Somnambulist* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam, 1834).

Blackburn Parish Registers

Henry Brierley, compiler, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn in the County of Lancashire*, two volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 41 (part 1), 93 (part 2) (Cambridge, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1911–1953).

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Charles H. Bouley, *Biographical Sketches of the Pioneer Settlers of New England, and Their Descendants in Worcester, Massachusetts* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, [1964]).

Broadsides, American Antiquarian Society

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Chandler, "Dr. Woodward"

George Chandler, "Life of Dr. Woodward," *American Journal of Insanity* 8 (October 1851): 119–135.

Charles Woodward, "Early Days"

"W." [Charles Woodward], "Expressing in Early Days," *Our Expressman* 2 (August 1874): 3–5. *Our Expressman* was a short-lived monthly periodical based in Cincinnati that published twenty issues between April 1874 and November 1875. Charles contributed essays to the publication, according to Stimson, *Express Business*, 328: "When George H. Price, of Louisville, Ky., disposed of the magazine, 'Our Expressmen,' to J. Henderson, that gentleman (since deceased) found a wheel-horse for his little team in that experienced expressman and right worthy citizen, Charles Woodward. The magazine was published, as its still more able successor, 'The Expressmen's Monthly,' now is, in Cincinnati. 'C. W.' was in the Adams Express office, in that western metropolis, fairly settled down to desk work, after many years of more active life, in all capacities, from messenger to superintendent, and, to favor the new editor and publisher, would, every now and then, jot down on paper some amusing or interesting incident in his chequered life." No articles in the periodical are signed by Charles, but the four signed "W." and the one signed "C. W." are attributed to him below based on the following evidence: the earliest article, Charles Woodward, "Early Days," is closely paraphrased and attributed to Charles in Stimson, *Express Business*, 328, and Stimson's description of Charles' role at the periodical recapitulates an editor's note that prefaces the article: "We have the following from a valued employe of Adams Express Company, upon whose recollections of a busy and eventful life we hope to draw frequent checks"; the second article, "W." "Expressing in Early Days: Losing a Money Package," *Our Expressman* 2 (September 1874): 18, repeats the "Expressing in Early Days" column title and describes the activities of the company's Indianapolis agent when Charles was in that precise role; the third article, "C. W." "Expressing in Early Days: A Run on a Bank," *Our Expressman* 2 (November 1874): 51–53, is bylined with the

initials attributed to Charles in Stimson, *Express Business*, 328, 329, 331, repeats the “Expressing in Early Days” column title, and also describes the activities of the company’s Indianapolis agent when Charles was in that role; the fourth article, “W.” “Then and Now,” *Our Expressman* 2 (June 1875): 168–169, includes the phrase “west of the Allegheny mountains” that was used by Charles in a similar context in a quotation included in Stimson, *Express Business*, 329; the fifth article, Charles Woodward, “War,” is a retelling of the complex content of Charles Woodward, “With Grant”, which is a posthumous publication said to be drawn “from the papers of the late Charles Woodward, Superintendent of the Second Military Division of the Adams Express Company during the Civil War.” Both articles describe the author’s presence near the Battle of Belmont, Missouri; his capture and interrogation by Nathan Bedford Forrest, near Trenton, Tennessee; his capture by Earl Van Dorn at Holly Springs, Mississippi; his participation in the Battle of Helena, Arkansas; his presence at the surrender of Vicksburg, Mississippi; the theft of a casket in the care of his staff; and his presence at Forrest’s raid on Memphis, Tennessee. The concurrence of events makes it certain that the author of both articles was Charles. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that another writer would use Charles’ “W.” simultaneously as a byline during the short run of the periodical, making it virtually certain that all the “W.” essays were by Charles.

Charles Woodward, “War”

“W.” [Charles Woodward], “An Expressman’s Experience During the War of the Rebellion,” *Our Expressman* 3 (October, November 1875): 33–36, 50–51.

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Charles Woodward, “With General Grant,” *Express Gazette* 22 (May 1897): 137–138.

Childwall Parish Registers

Robert Dickinson, compiler, *The Registers of the Parish of Childwall*, two volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 106 (part 1), 122 (part 2) (Preston and Newport, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1967–1983).

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Ebenezer Clapp Jr. and others, *History of the Town of Dorchester, Massachusetts* (Boston: Ebenezer Clapp Jr., 1859). Portions of this work were written by others, but the chapter on Henry Woodward is attributed to Ebenezer Clapp Jr. in “Notes and Queries,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 44 (October 1890): 399.

Combe, *Phrenological Visit*

George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America During a Phrenological Visit in 1838–9–40*, three volumes (Edinburgh, Scotland: MacLachlan, Stewart, & Company, 1841).

Connecticut Photographs 2014

Ancestral site photographs, Hobson Woodward and Vernon Powell “Woody” (Woodward) Bliss, Connecticut, June 2014, originals housed in family archive curated by the author.

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William Richard Cutter, editor, *New England Families, Genealogical and Memorial*, four volumes continuously paginated (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1914).

Dexter, *Graduates of Yale*

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, six volumes (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1885–1912).

Dorchester Church Records Published

Records of the First Church at Dorchester in New England 1636–1734 (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1891).

Dorchester Town Records

Dorchester Town Records, Fourth Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, third edition (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1896).

“Dr. Woodward, Pioneer Physician”

“Memorial Service at Torrington in Honor of Dr. Woodward, Pioneer Physician,” clipping from Torrington, Connecticut, area newspaper, [9 November 1936], “Woodward” file, Torrington Historical Society, Torrington, Connecticut. The clipping is incomplete and undated, but based on an internal statement that a day before publication a service was held on the 186th anniversary of Samuel’s 8 November 1750 birth (as recorded in the Torrington vital records after anachronistic adjustment for the Old Style loss of eleven days; Samuel was actually born 28 October 1750), the article was published on 9 November 1936.

Dunlap, *Houses of Worship*

David W. Dunlap, *From Abyssinian to Zion: A Guide to Manhattan’s Houses of Worship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Find A Grave

Gravestone photographs and transcriptions collected by volunteers worldwide, “Find A Grave,” FindaGrave.com.

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George Stedman Woodward death notice, “Woodward, George Stedman,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 12 October 1955, 32. The content of the notice, but not the typography, is identical to “Woodward, George Stedman,” undated clipping from

unidentified newspaper, circa 13 October 1955, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

George Woodward Retirement Speech

[George S. Woodward], "George Woodward Retires as Treasurer after 49 Years: His Interesting Reminiscences at Official Dinner in His Honor," *Moonbeams* (Procter & Gamble Company newsletter), December 1939, 5, 18.

Goss, *Queen City*

Charles Frederic Goss, *Cincinnati: The Queen City, 1788–1912*, 4 volumes (Chicago and Cincinnati, Ohio: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912).

Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry"

Gerald N. Grob, "Samuel B. Woodward and the Practice of Psychiatry in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (1962): 420–443.

Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*

Gerald N. Grob, *The State and The Mentally Ill: A History of the Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts, 1830–1920* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

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Christ Church, Glendale, Ohio, church register extracts in letter, Joyce S. Barrett, parish secretary, Christ Church, Forest and Erie Streets, Glendale, Ohio, to Vernon Powell Woodward, 17 July 1987, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

Henry Woodward Pension File

Henry Lynde Woodward, Civil War pension file, Union Army, Company C, 137th Ohio Infantry (National Guard), Henry L. Woodward, invalid pension, certificate 767525, continued by Martha Reynolds (Thomas) Woodward, widow's pension,

certificate 650435, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, National Archives.

Henry Woodward Regiment History

Ohio Roster Commission, *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1866*, 12 volumes (Akron, Cincinnati, and Norwalk, Ohio: Ohio Valley Press and elsewhere, 1886–1895).

Henry Woodward Service Record

Henry L. Woodward, Civil War compiled service record, Union Army, Company C, 137 Ohio Infantry (National Guard), card numbers 24540975, 24540998, 24541086, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1762–1984, Record Group 94, National Archives, citing muster rolls of 10 May, 30 June, and 19 August 1864.

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Charles Hoadly and others, editors, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1636–1776*, fifteen volumes (Hartford, Connecticut: Press of Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1850–1890).

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John Dewey Letter

John Dewey Jr. to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 24 May 1824, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The author identifies himself as John Dewey of Lebanon, son of Experience (Woodward) Dewey (older sister of Israel Woodward), and gives his age as eighty-eight years and five months. An added note states he died in June 1830.

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Biographical summary, Sylvester Judd, “Henry Woodward,” 5 September 1846, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 6, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

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William Lincoln, *History of Worcester, Massachusetts, from Its Earliest Settlement to September 1836*, second edition (Worcester, Massachusetts: Charles Hersey, 1862).

Lundberg Family Charts

Woodward family history charts, Gary Lundberg, circa 1986, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

Maria Woodward Letter 1873

Maria (Porter) Woodward to Charles Woodward, 13 January 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

Morton Woodward Interview

Hobson Woodward, "Interview with Morton Woodward, Brother of Vernon Woodward," 1 June 2000, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

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Election results culled from newspapers by Philip J. Lampi and presented by the American Antiquarian Society and Tufts University Digital Collections and Archives; via "A New Nation Votes: American Election Returns 1787–1825," Elections.lib.Tufts.edu.

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Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington, Connecticut, From Its First Settlement in 1737, with Biographies and Genealogies* (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1878).

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Lawrence V. Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward, M. D. (1787–1850): New England Physician and Reformer," undergraduate thesis, Yale University, Department of History, June 1957, Lamar Soutter Library, University of Massachusetts Medical School, Worcester, Massachusetts.

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Vernon Powell Woodward, "Powell Family Bible," 1985, Cambridge, Massachusetts, original housed in family archive curated by the author. This is an abstract of contents of a Powell family Bible given by Morton Powell Woodward to Vernon Powell Woodward, circa 1985, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

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Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals and Soldiers*, 2 volumes (1868; reprint, Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke Company, 1895).

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Connecticut General Assembly, *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut from 1776 to 1881* (Hartford, Connecticut: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1881).

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Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Essays on Asylums for Inebriates* ([Worcester, Massachusetts]: [publisher name not provided], [1838]). A portion of the essays were reprinted in [Samuel Bayard Woodward], *Remarks on the Utility and Necessity of Asylums or Retreats for the Victims of Intemperance* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking & Guilbert, 1840).

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Samuel Bayard Woodward Will

Last will and testament, Samuel Bayard Woodward, June 1846, Worcester, Worcester County, Massachusetts, photocopy obtained from Morton Powell Woodward circa 1986, original housed in family archive curated by the author. The will is recorded in Hampshire County Probate, 47:456–459.

Samuel Bayard Woodward Writings

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Samuel Woodward Letter 1812

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 12 April 1812, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1814

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 10 December 1814, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1829

Autobiographical memoir, Samuel Woodward, "I Samuel Woodward was born in Watertown," [1828–1829], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. In this sixteen-page

narrative Samuel declares that he is age seventy-eight, thereby dating it to between October 1828 and October 1829.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1831

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 30 July 1831, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 31 December [1832], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 1, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The letter lacks a year in the date, but appears to have been written at about the same time as the January 1833 letter below; a Wethersfield, Connecticut, address is evidence that it was written no later than 1832, as Samuel Bayard Woodward moved from Wethersfield to Worcester, Massachusetts, in January 1833.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 March

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 18 March 1832, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Woodward Letter 1833

Samuel Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 18 January 1833, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript

Obituary of Samuel Woodward, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Obituary Written March—1836," March 1836, Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 4, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The pages of this seventeen-page document are numbered seventy-seven to ninety-three.

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Obituary of Samuel Woodward, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Dr. Samuel Woodward," in Stephen W. Williams, editor, *American Medical Biography; or, Memoirs of Eminent Physicians* (Greenfield, Massachusetts: L. Merriam & Company, 1845), 645–652.

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J. H. Temple and George Sheldon, *A History of the Town of Northfield, Massachusetts, for 150 Years* (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1875).

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Clarence Almon Torrey, *New England Marriages Prior to 1700*, three volumes continuously paginated (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2011); via “New England Marriages to 1700,” AmericanAncestors.org.

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James Russell Trumbull, *History of Northampton, Massachusetts, from Its Settlement in 1654*, two volumes (Northampton, Massachusetts: Press of Gazette Printing Company, 1898–1902).

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The Union Army: A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States 1861–65, eight volumes (Madison, Wisconsin: Federal Publishing Company, 1908).

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United States 1830 Census

1830 United States census, population schedules, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*, M19, 201 reels; via “1830 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

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1850 United States census, population schedules, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, M432, 1009 reels; via “1850 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

United States 1870 Census

1870 United States census, population schedules, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, M593, 1761 reels; via “1870 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

United States 1880 Census

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United States 1910 Census

1910 United States census, population schedules, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, T624, 1178 reels; via “1910 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

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1940 United States census, population schedules, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, T627, 4643 reels; via “1940 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

Urania Woodward Letter 1849

Urania Battell Woodward to Charles Woodward and Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 27 April [1849], original housed in family archive curated by the author. The year is not written on the letter, but its discussion of the recent death of a young family member (Urania’s sister Catherine), the impending death of Urania’s grandfather (Eleazer Porter), and the health of Urania’s father (Samuel Bayard) dates it to 1849.

Veterans Schedules 1890 Census

1890 United States census, veterans schedules, Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census (1890) Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census (1890) Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War*, M123, 118 reels; via “1890 Veterans Schedules of the U.S. Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

Warner and Webb, “John Webb”

Fred C. Warner and Harrison E. Webb, “John Webb of Northampton,” *American Genealogist* 23 (January 1947): 129–137.

Warner, Warner-Harrington Ancestry

Frederick Chester Warner, John L. Warner, and F. Eleanor Warner, *The Warner-Harrington Ancestry: The Ancestry of Samuel, Freda and John Warner*, five volumes continuously paginated (Boston and Lexington, Massachusetts: [publisher name not provided], 1949–1955).

Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet

Minutes of the Testimony Taken Before John Q. Wilson, Joseph Eaton & Morris Woodruff, Committee from the General Assembly, to Inquire into the Condition of Connecticut State Prison (Hartford, Connecticut: D. S. Porter, 1834).

Williams’ Cincinnati Directory

Williams’ Cincinnati Directory . . . for [year varies] (Cincinnati, Ohio: Williams & Company, [year varies]).

Williams’ Norwood Directory

Williams’ Norwood Directory . . . for [year varies] (Cincinnati, Ohio: Williams & Company, [year varies]).

Williams, Surprising Variety

Solomon Williams, *The Surprising Variety of the Acts of Divine Providence in the Government of the World, the Perfect Work of God; and the Design and Tendency of it to Promote True Religion among Men* (New London, Connecticut: T. Green, 1742).

Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants”

Typescript family history narrative, Samuel B. Woodward and Hubert Madison Woodward, “History of Descendants of Henry Woodward of Dorchester 1635,” [1934], title number 1175709, Family History Library, Salt Lake City; via FamilySearch.org. A variant copy of this typescript (with different pagination), cataloged as Samuel B. Woodward, “The American Branch of the Woodward of Lancashire, England, 1635–1934,” 1934, is in the collection of the American Antiquarian

Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, and available via HeritageQuestOnline.com. The American Antiquarian Society copy was owned by author Samuel B. Woodward (1853–1946) of Worcester, Massachusetts (namesake grandson of the ancestor of the same name described below) and contains handwritten notes and tipped-in images.

Woodward Family Charts

Woodward family charts, author unknown, “Woodward,” circa 1936 to 1955, original housed in family archive curated by the author. These are undocumented charts of the Woodward line given by Morton Powell Woodward to Vernon Powell Woodward and Hobson Woodward, circa 1985, and attributed by Morton to a genealogist associated with Morton’s father and Vernon’s grandfather, George Stedman Woodward. The charts appear to be derived from Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants” and may have been created by one or both of the authors, Samuel B. Woodward and Hubert Madison Woodward, or a genealogist in possession of their work. The charts were periodically updated by Morton Powell Woodward through 1985.

Woodward, Hopkins, Hoar, *Temperance*

Samuel Bayard Woodward, Mark Hopkins, Samuel Hoar, *Address to the People of Massachusetts, on the Present Condition and Claims of the Temperance Reformation* (Boston: Temperance Standard Press, 1846).

Woody Bliss, “Questions”

Answers by Vernon Powell “Woody” (Woodward) Bliss to questions posed about the lives of his grandparents, Vernon Powell “Woody” (Woodward) Bliss, “Answers from Vernon Powell (Woodward) Bliss to Questions from Hobson Peter Woodward,” November 2010, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

Worcester State Hospital Reports

Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, [number varies] *Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, December* [year varies] (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, [year varies]). The first four reports were reprinted with supplemental material in Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, *Reports and Other Documents Relating to the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, Mass.* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, 1837).

Young, *First Planters*

Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846).

A Line of
Fathers and Sons
from
Henry Woodward
(1611–1683)
of
Childwall, Lancashire, England,
and
Northampton, Massachusetts

Ancestor Stories
Line 1

**A Line of
Fathers and Sons
from
Henry Woodward
(1611–1683)
of
Childwall, Lancashire, England,
and
Northampton, Massachusetts**

Robert Woodward
1568–after 1588
Childwall, Lancashire, England

1. The 26 January 1568[/69]^[1] baptism of ROBERT^B WOODWARD, apparent grandfather of Henry Woodward of Northampton, Massachusetts, was recorded in the parish register of All Saints Church in Childwall, Lancashire, England.^[2] Twenty-one years later on 6 March 1588[/89] apparently the same Robert Woodward was recorded as the father of an out-of-wedlock child with ANNE ORME.^[3]

¹ Old Style and New Style dates are provided for dates between 1 January and 25 March in years prior to the implementation of the new calendar by Great Britain in 1752, including for clarity dates prior to the implementation of the new calendar by the rest of Europe in 1582. The double dating system also affects months identified by number rather than name, which prior to 1752 generally reflected the Old Style calendar. All bracketed additions reflect a supposition that dates were rendered according to the calendar then in effect, unless other evidence suggests that a writer was using the new calendar before its official commencement.

² Childwall Parish Registers, 1:29. See also All Saints Church Records, “Roberte Wodward” baptism record, 26 January 1568[/69]. The ancestry of Henry Woodward of Northampton, Massachusetts, outlined here was first proposed by Walter Woodward in Walt Woodward, “Woodward / Hayward / Orme,” in Lee Kugler, “Corrections to Genealogies in Print,” *New England Historic Genealogical Society Nexus* 5 (April / May 1988), 61. Walter Woodward further proposed that the father of Robert Woodward may have been the William Woodward who was married 13 June 1563, although the baptism record of Robert Woodward does not name a father. See Childwall Parish Registers, 1:2.

³ Childwall Parish Registers, 1:41. See also All Saints Church Records, “Johannes Wodward” baptism record, 6 March 1588[/89]. The record includes the abbreviation “fs.” for “filius” or “son of” and is transcribed as: “Johannes fs. Roberti Wodward & Annae Orme illeg.” All Saints Church Records

Child of Robert Woodward and Anne Orme:

- 2 i. JOHN^A WOODWARD, baptized 6 March 1588[/89].^[4]

John Woodward

1588–after 1611

Childwall, Lancashire, England

2. JOHN^A WOODWARD (*Robert^B*), apparent father of Henry Woodward of Northampton, Massachusetts, was probably the John Woodward who was the out-of-wedlock son of Robert Woodward and Anne Orme baptized at Childwall, Lancashire, England, on 6 March 1588[/89].^[5]

Child of John Woodward:

- 3 i. HENRY¹ WOODWARD, baptized 4 September 1611.^[6]

Henry Woodward

1611–1683

Childwall, Lancashire, England

Dorchester, Massachusetts

Northampton, Massachusetts

3. HENRY¹ WOODWARD (*John^A, Robert^B*), was probably the Henry Woodward, son of John Woodward, baptized at Childwall, Lancashire, England, on 4 September 1611.^[7]

indexes this record under the name Johannes Orme on the apparent assumption that an illegitimate child would use the last name of the mother.

⁴ Childwall Parish Registers, 1:41. See also All Saints Church Records, “Johannes Wodward” baptism record, 6 March 1588[/89]. Possible sisters or half-sisters of John are Letticia Woodward baptized 15 January 1592[/93] as “Letticia” daughter of “Roberti Wodward” and Ellen Woodward baptized 30 June 1595 as “Ellina” daughter of “Roberti Wodward.” See All Saints Church Records, “Letticia Wodward” baptism record, 15 January 1592[/93]. See also All Saints Church Records, “Ellina Woodward” baptism record, 30 June 1595.

⁵ Childwall Parish Registers, 1:41. See also All Saints Church Records, “Johannes Wodward” baptism record, 6 March 1588[/89].

⁶ Childwall Parish Registers, 1:67. The record is transcribed “Henricus” son of “Johannis Woodward.” See All Saints Church Records, “Henricus Woodward” baptism record, 4 September 1611. Possible brothers of Henry are William Woodward baptized 28 February 1607[/08] as “Gulielmus” son of “Jo Wodward,” and Richard Woodward baptized 26 June 1610 as “Richardus” son of “Johannis Woodward.” See All Saints Church Records, “Gulielmus Wodward” baptism record, 28 February 1607[/08]. See also All Saints Church Records, “Richardus Wodward” baptism record, 26 June 1610.

⁷ Childwall Parish Registers, 1:67. See also All Saints Church Records, “Henricus Woodward” baptism record, 4 September 1611. No known record explicitly links the Henry Woodward baptized in Childwall in 1611 to the man of the same name who appeared in Dorchester, Massachusetts, by 1639 and later moved to Northampton. There is reason to believe that the Henry of Childwall and the Henry of Northampton were the same person, however. Richard Mather, who led the Dorchester expedition, also resided in Childwall. See Anderson, Great Migration, 5:88–89. In addition, a search of Lancashire vital records revealed no marriage or death records for the Henry born in Childwall in 1611, suggesting that he disappeared from Lancashire as a young man. Henry of Northampton also named his first son John, and if he and Henry of Childwall were one and the same then he followed the English tradition

Henry died at Northampton, Massachusetts, on 7 April 1683.^[8] Probably between 1635 and 1641, in Dorchester, Massachusetts, Henry married Elizabeth,^[9] who was probably ELIZABETH CUNLIFFE, daughter of James and Agnes (Heye) Cunliffe of Blackburn, Lancashire, England.^[10]

The parish of Childwall, near Liverpool, England, was a center of Puritan activity during Henry Woodward's childhood. A Puritan congregation was established at nearby Toxteth in 1618 and Richard Mather was appointed the first minister.^[11] In the late 1620s and early 1630s Mather resided in Much Woolton, Childwall. After being silenced by the church in 1633 and 1634, Mather and his congregation immigrated

of naming his first son after his father. Many sources place Henry in Much Woolton, a hamlet of Childwall, though the parish records are silent as to the specific location of the residences of Henry and his probable ancestors. The suggestion that he was a resident of Much Woolton probably stems from the presence of likely ancestor "William the Woodward" in Much Woolton in 1327. William the Woodward was bailiff of Much Woolton, the official charged with overseeing the manor and collecting rents from tenants. See William Farrer and J. Brownbill, editors, *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, eight volumes (London, England: [A. Constable & Company], 1906–1914), 3:114–115. A bailiff was a "ward of the wood," suggesting that the title was the origin of the surname Woodward.

A persistent and seemingly false claim that dates to at least 1906 alleges that Henry Woodward was a son of Thomas Woodward and was baptized in Childwall on 22 March 1606[/07]. As first noted by Walter Woodward in 1988, the only person baptized in Childwall on that date was a Henry Hayward, son of another Henry Hayward; the only Henry Woodward born in the era in Childwall was the Henry baptized on 4 September 1611. The Childwall registers show a Thomas Woodward marrying an Elizabeth Tyrer on 28 May 1592 and having several children in the two decades that followed, but none named Henry. See Childwall Parish Registers, 1:7, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 61, 62, 67, 69. A possible reason why an early twentieth-century genealogist might have preferred to identify Henry of Northampton as a son of Thomas rather than John was John's out-of-wedlock birth, as noted above. Another reason might possibly have been that Thomas had a son John. As outlined below, one of Henry's descendants claimed that his immigrant ancestor was accompanied to Massachusetts by a brother named John. Despite that, the Childwall parish records provide no reason to suppose that Henry was a son of Thomas. For the 1906 claim, see Henry McCoy Norris, *Ancestry and Descendants of Lieutenant Jonathan and Tamesin (Barker) Norris of Maine* (New York: Grafton Press Genealogical Publishers, 1906), appendix 5.

⁸ Northampton Vital Record Notes, Henry Woodward death record, 7 April 1683. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. See also Hampshire County Probate, 2:16. Many sources err in giving Henry's death year as 1685, apparently based on a misreading of the Northampton death record in which the three resembles a five.

⁹ Henry Woodward was listed alone on the earliest list of Dorchester church congregants, suggesting that he was a single man when he arrived in the New World in 1635 or later. The earliest known record naming Henry Woodward's wife as Elizabeth is a Dorchester deed from Henry Woodward to William Sumner dated 10 November 1659 that was acknowledged by Henry and Elizabeth Woodward on "14 (9) 1659" [14 November 1659]. Henry and Elizabeth were apparently married long before that date, and probably at least nine months before the baptism of their daughter "Freedome Wooward" in Dorchester in "5 mo" [July] 1642, which calculates to a marriage date of before October 1641. See Woodward family membership, dismissal, and baptism records, First Church, Dorchester, Massachusetts; via Massachusetts Historical Society microfilm publication, *First Parish Church in Dorchester Records*, 1 reel, reel P-678, 1:2–6, 53, 173. See also William H. Sumner, "The Sumner Family," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (October 1855): 301, citing documents then in the possession of Clarissa Sumner of Dorchester. See also Dorchester Church Records Published, 1–4, 38, 155.

¹⁰ See analysis below.

¹¹ Arabella McIntyre-Brown, *Liverpool: The First 1,000 Years* (Liverpool, England: Garlic Press, 2001), 23.

together to Boston, Massachusetts, and then a few months later to Dorchester a few miles to the south.^[12]

The earliest known record of Henry Woodward in the New World is his appearance on a list of new congregants of the Dorchester church written between 23 August 1636 and 4 November 1639.^[13] Henry may have come to Massachusetts at any point during that span, but it is likely he voyaged with Richard Mather and his followers when they sailed from Bristol, England, aboard the *James* in 1635.^[14] If he did, he was about age twenty-four when he reached America.

Two centuries later in 1833, Henry's great-great-grandson Samuel reported a family tradition that Henry came to the New World with a brother John:

¹² Anderson, *Great Migration*, 5:84, 88–90.

¹³ Woodward family membership records, First Church, Dorchester, Massachusetts; via Massachusetts Historical Society microfilm publication, *First Parish Church in Dorchester Records*, 1 reel, reel P-678, 1:2–6. See also *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 1–6. The undated list appears in the first volume of Dorchester church records between the parish's founding covenant dated "the 23th day of the 6th moneth. Anno. 1636" [23 August 1636] and a list of additional congregants dated "4 day: 9th mo: 1639" [4 November 1639]. The second date, which appears below Henry's name, is probably the source of the erroneous marriage date of 4 September 1638 or 1639 often attributed to Henry and Elizabeth.

¹⁴ No known document places Henry Woodward on the *James*. Richard Mather's journal of the voyage does not name Henry, but it names only a few passengers in passing. See Young, *First Planters*, 447–481. The earliest known record of Henry's presence in the New World is his appearance on the list of Dorchester church congregants written between 23 August 1636 and 4 November 1639, as noted above. Dorchester historian Ebenezer Clapp Jr. in his 1859 history of Dorchester, without citing a source, stated unequivocally that Henry was on the *James*. See Clapp, *History of Dorchester*, 141. Clapp appears to have assumed that all persons enumerated on the congregant list were on the first arriving vessel. The list, however, is in no particular order and may have been created incrementally over several years as new congregants arrived, a possibility that is enhanced by the fact that there are 150 congregants listed and Mather states that 100 rode on the *James*. See Young, *First Planters*, 476. Thus the claim that Henry was aboard the *James*, while possible, is not supported in the documentary record. If Henry did immigrate later, he may have arrived closer to 1639 than 1636, as his name is at the bottom of the list. Note that if Henry was on the *James*, he experienced two harrowing storms off the New England coast. See Young, *First Planters*, 468–469, 473–476.

Clapp is also the apparent source of the almost certainly erroneous claim that Henry Woodward was a physician. In Clapp, *History of Dorchester*, 141, the author gave no source for the simple declaration of Henry that "He was a physician." No such claim predating Clapp has been found. The assertion has been questioned in print. See for example Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:117. Other sources have repeated it without question, most notably C. C. B., "Woodward, Samuel Bayard," in Dumas Malone, et al., editors, *Dictionary of American Biography*, thirty volumes (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1928–1980), 20:511. An examination of all known primary records pertaining to Henry revealed nothing to support the claim and led to the theory that a misreading of a particular record may have prompted the statement. In the Dorchester town records, Clapp may have mistaken "br" (short for "brother") for "Dr" (short for "doctor") in the statement "br Woodward desireth a little ground to set his barne upon." See Henry Woodward petition, [9 February 1651/52], Dorchester, Massachusetts, town records, 1:416; via Boston Public Library microfilm publication *Records of the City of Boston, 1634–1914*, 225 reels, reel 175. See also the 1880 published *Dorchester Town Records*, 306. An examination of the original on microfilm shows that the "b" might have been mistaken for a "D," but also that "brother" was certainly meant in this entry and in nearby ones in which residents are also styled "Bro" and "brother." See *Dorchester Town Records*, 306–307. Writing in 1859, Clapp did not have the benefit of seeing the correct transcription in the 1880 published version. Whether this is the source of the statement or not, unless a new primary source is found showing Henry was a physician, the claim should be rejected.

In the early settlement of New England Henry & John Woodward emigrated from Old England to Boston they were brothers & settled in Dorchester. Henry had a family John single became a quaker & was banished went to Rhode Island was banished there & his estate confiscated not known what became of him afterward.^[15]

Henry had no known brother John.^[16] If he was indeed accompanied by a John Woodward, his companion may have been a brother whose baptism was not recorded or a cousin or other relative.

In Dorchester Henry married Elizabeth, presumably by November 1641 or nine months before the recorded baptism of their daughter Freedom in “5 mo.” [July] 1642.^[17] The identity of Elizabeth has long been in question.^[18] A survey of the

¹⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

¹⁶ Samuel B. Woodward (a descendant of the Samuel Bayard Woodward who is profiled below) and Hubert Madison Woodward searched and analyzed records of people named John Woodward in early New England and attributed all found to other people of that name, concluding of Henry’s purported brother that “one finds no dependable record of such a man.” See Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 16. Henry’s purported sibling is called a half-brother in Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 12-1025.

¹⁷ Dorchester Church Records Published, 155. No year follows the month in the record of the baptism of “Freedom Woodward,” but the records immediately above and below are dated 1642.

¹⁸ The most widely disseminated speculative theory about the origin of Elizabeth appears to be in error. A century of speculation that Elizabeth was a Mather has become firmly rooted in genealogical literature, but appears to be a case of a tentative proposal freighted with caveats being shorn of its cautious language as it moves through repeated publication. The Mather proposal initially seems plausible, since the Dorchester congregation to which Henry and Elizabeth Woodward belonged was led by Richard Mather, and Richard’s son Eleazer later moved to Northampton with a group that included Henry and Elizabeth Woodward and their children. The earliest known suggestion that Elizabeth was a Mather appeared in Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Ward Beecher and His Wife Eunice White Bullard* (Brooklyn, New York: publisher name not provided, 1927), 119–120, in which Frost stated of Elizabeth: “Her maiden name is not known but there is considerable evidence that she was a ‘Mather.’” Frost cited five sources for her summary of the Woodward family, but a review of all five revealed that only one provides any suggestion of a connection to the Mather family: J. Paul Rylands, “Abstracts of the Wills of the Mather Family, Proved in the Consistory Court at Chester from 1573 to 1650,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Society Register* 47 (January 1893): 46–47, in which the author abstracted the 8 June 1602 will of William Mather of Westhoughton, Lancashire, England, without commenting on possible Mather-Woodward family ties. In the will Mather left small bequests to Arthur, Henry, David, James, Thurston, and Margaret Woodward without specifying their relationship to him. Among the witnesses was Richard Woodward, and one of those who took an inventory of the estate later in the same month was James Woodward. Four years later Frost’s suggestion was repeated by Mary Walton Ferris in her 1931 second volume of *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, which was written a dozen years before the first volume: Mary Walton Ferris, compiler, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, two volumes ([volume one:] Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Cuneo Press, 1943; [volume two:] Chicago, Illinois: Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1931), 2:841, 845. Ferris made it clear that she did not propose that Elizabeth was a Mather, identifying her only as “Elizabeth (—) Woodward.” She did, however, cite the same extracted will as a reason to suspect a link might exist between the families: “It seems highly suggestive of relationship between the two families that a William Mather, of Westhoughton, co. Lancaster (which is quite near Winwick of that county where the Rev. Richard Mather and his forbears lived), who was one generation older than the Rev. Richard, named in his will Arthur, Henry, David, James, Thurston and Margaret Woodward, had a Richard Woodward witness that document and a James Woodward take his inventory in 1602.” Eight years after Ferris’ publication, Frost repeated her initial suggestion in Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Evelyn Wood Keeler Wife of Willard Underhill Taylor* (Brooklyn, New York:

publisher name not provided, 1939), 250. In her summary of the life of Henry Woodward, she identified his wife as “Elizabeth, whose maiden name is not known, although there is some indication she may have been a ‘Mather.’” Frost’s earlier claim of “considerable evidence” that Elizabeth was a Mather was phrased in her later work as “some indication” that she was a member of that family, indicating reduced confidence in the assertion. Clarence Almon Torrey explicitly relied on Frost and Ferris in *Torrey, New England Marriages*, 3:1718, when he listed the wife of Henry Woodward as “Elizabeth [Mather?].” For a facsimile of the original manuscript entry, see Clarence Almon Torrey, *New England Marriages Prior to 1700*, twelve volumes unpaginated (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1971), volume “W,” page [415]. Twenty-two published genealogies, town histories, and published records collections were listed by Torrey as sources for the marriage of Henry Woodward and Elizabeth. All were reviewed, and only the three cited above give any indication that Elizabeth Woodward might have been a Mather. Torrey’s work has been published in traditional and digital form and has reached a broad audience. Numerous genealogies have since listed Elizabeth as a Mather without qualification, apparently relying on Torrey as the unstated basis for the assignment and ignoring the cautious language of the predecessor publications. Numerous family trees on FamilySearch.org and Ancestry.com list Henry Woodward and Elizabeth Mather as spouses.

A review of the source of the Mather speculation, the 1602 Westhoughton, Lancashire, will of William Mather abstracted in J. Paul Rylands, “Abstracts of the Wills of the Mather Family, Proved in the Consistory Court at Chester from 1573 to 1650,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 47 (January 1893): 46–47, shows that it mentions no known ancestors of Henry Woodward or Richard Mather. As shown in *Anderson, Great Migration*, 5:87, Richard Mather was the son of Thomas and Margaret (Abraham) Mather of Winwick Parish, Lowton, Lancashire. As shown by Walter Woodward in Walt Woodward, “Woodward / Hayward / Orme,” in Lee Kugler, “Corrections to Genealogies in Print,” *New England Historic Genealogical Society Nexus* 5 (April / May 1988), 61, and outlined above, Henry Woodward was likely the son of John Woodward; John was likely the illegitimate son of Robert Woodward and Anne Orme; and Robert was possibly the son of William Woodward. All of those Woodward ancestors resided in Childwall Parish, a separate parish twenty-three miles from Deane Parish (which includes the chapelry of Westhoughton) where the above noted Arthur, Henry, David, James, Thurston, Margaret, and Richard Woodward were involved in the estate of William Mather in 1602. Thus, while there may have been connections between the extended families, the will provides no grounds for supposing that the woman who married Henry Woodward in faraway Massachusetts was a Mather.

Setting aside the apparent irrelevance of the will, genealogists who have embraced the claim that Elizabeth was a Mather but have lacked a specific placement of her in the Mather family have proposed at least two origins, which are summarized in Fred W. Scott, *Clifton William Scott and Mildred Evelyn Bradford Scott of Ashfield, Mass.: Ancestors, Descendants and New England Heritage*, two volumes (New York, New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2004), 1:162–163, 170–171. One theory has her placed as a daughter of Richard Mather. The recent scholarly treatment of Richard’s life in *Anderson, Great Migration*, 5:84–90, however, includes no daughter Elizabeth in his family. Another theory has the Elizabeth who married Henry Woodward identified as a sister of Richard Mather. No baptism record for Richard is known, though Anderson shows that he was born about 1596 to Thomas and Margaret (Abraham) Mather of Lowton, Winwick Parish, Lancashire. A review of Lancashire baptism records revealed that Richard may indeed have had a sister named Elizabeth: Elizabeth Mather, daughter of Thomas Mather, was baptized in Lowton, Winwick Parish, Lancashire, on 5 December 1605. See Elizabeth Mather baptism record, 6 December 1605, Winwick, Lancashire, England; via Robert Dickinson, compiler, *The Register of Winwick Parish Church*, two volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 109 (part 1), 113 (part 2) (Leyland, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1970–1974), 1:page number not provided; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *The Register of Winwick Parish Church*, reel 844821, item 5; via “England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” FamilySearch.org. That Elizabeth, however, may have remained in England, as no other Winwick baptism records were found for women named Elizabeth Mather who married in Winwick Parish in 1623 and 1638. See Elizabeth Mather and William Charlock marriage record, 7 June 1623, Winwick, Lancashire, England, Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1600–1740; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Bishop’s Transcripts for*

evidence suggests that she may have been Elizabeth Cunliffe, sister of Henry Cunliffe, who was a close associate of Henry Woodward. If so, Elizabeth and Henry Cunliffe were probably children of James and Agnes (Heye) Cunliffe of Blackburn, Lancashire, England.

Early Dorchester vital records were accidentally burned more than three centuries ago and no records of the early marriages are known to be extant.^[19] Consequently, family historians must build cases for marriages between early Dorchester colonists using other sources. The existing documentary record was thus reviewed for additional clues to Elizabeth's origin. On the theory that Henry Woodward likely married a neighbor with Lancashire roots, the list of new congregants of the Dorchester church written between 23 August 1636 and 4 November 1639 noted above was examined for all women named Elizabeth who might have become Henry Woodward's wife.^[20]

Winwick, 1600–1890, reel 1469061, item 2; via “England Marriages, 1538–1973,” FamilySearch.org. See also Elizabeth Mather and Roger Hasselding marriage record, July 1638, Winwick, Lancashire, England, Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1600–1740; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Bishop's Transcripts for Winwick, 1600–1890*, reel 1469061, item 2; via “England Marriages, 1538–1973,” FamilySearch.org. On the supposition that the above Elizabeth Mather might have gone to Massachusetts and married Henry Woodward (or that another Elizabeth Mather might have done so), evidence for the presence of such a person in New England was sought in colonial records. As part of the search, details of the 1661 will of Richard Mather provided in *Anderson, Great Migration*, 5:86–87, were reviewed for any mention of members of the Woodward family, and none was found. While it was unusual for members of an extended family to be mentioned in early New England wills, Mather's will was unusually detailed. In it Mather left bequests to his second wife Sarah; his stepdaughter Mary Cotton and step-granddaughter Elizabeth Day; the children of his sister Ellen Worsley; his son Timothy, Timothy's wife Elizabeth, and their son Samuel; his sons Samuel, Nathaniel, Eleazer, and Increase; and “the church & people of Dorchester.” When Mather wrote his will, Elizabeth Woodward was living in Northampton as a neighbor of Mather's son Eleazer and two of Henry and Elizabeth's daughters remained in Dorchester as members of Mather's church. See *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 11, 38. If Elizabeth was his sister, daughter, niece, or cousin, he probably would have mentioned her in a will that includes so many members of his extended family. Likewise, if his nieces, granddaughters, grandnieces, or cousins resided in the town in which he lived, he would probably have mentioned them as well. Similarly, while letters from Richard Mather's son Increase to Solomon Stoddard (who had married Increase's widowed sister-in-law) in Northampton contain salutations to many family members, they contain no mention of Elizabeth Woodward. See Research summary, Walter W. Woodward to Hobson Woodward, 9 July 1988, original housed in family archive curated by the author. Extending the search further, no record has been found showing an Elizabeth Mather in the New World in the era in question. Perhaps more to the point, no such record has been found in early Dorchester. Since Henry Woodward was apparently a single man when he immigrated to the New World and since he apparently resided until his marriage within the community of Lancashire Puritans who settled in Dorchester upon arrival, it is likely that his wife was one of the single women named Elizabeth on the list of Dorchester church congregants described above. See *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 1–6. There is no Elizabeth Mather on that list. Thus, the conclusion must surely be that Elizabeth was not a Mather.

¹⁹ *Dorchester Births, Marriages, and Deaths to the End of 1825*, Twenty-First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1890), iii, 20. Dorchester marriage records may have been lost with town birth and death records that accidentally burned in the home of Thomas Millet in 1657. See James Blake, *Annals of the Town of Dorchester*, Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society 2 (Boston: David Clapp Jr., 1846), 20.

²⁰ Membership records, First Church, Dorchester, Massachusetts; via Massachusetts Historical Society microfilm publication, *First Parish Church in Dorchester Records*, 1 reel, reel P-678, 1:2–6. See also *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 1–6. The earliest known record of Henry's presence in the New

Sixteen of the 122 women enumerated on the initial list and seven dated additions through 1641 were named Elizabeth. Eight of the sixteen were immediately eliminated because their husbands were included on the same list (they were either known wives of church founders listed separately on the founding covenant or their names were connected with “X” symbols to men who shared their last names).^[21] Records related to the other eight Dorchester women named Elizabeth were then examined for links to Henry Woodward. Those women were: Elizabeth Condliffe [Cunliffe], Elizabeth Tilestone, Elizabeth Pitts, Elizabeth Williams, Elizabeth Farnham, Elizabeth Drake, Elizabeth Craine, and Elizabeth Gallet.

Circumstantial evidence has been found suggesting that seven of these eight Elizabeths were not Henry Woodward’s wife.^[22] The fate of the remaining Elizabeth, Elizabeth Cunliffe, is an open question. She disappears from the Dorchester records after her appearance on the church list, but no marriage record claiming her as a spouse has been found, nor has any other New World record been located naming Elizabeth Cunliffe or Condliffe.^[23] Elizabeth Cunliffe has, however, been a subject of study by family historians. Almost a century ago it was proposed that Elizabeth Cunliffe’s disappearance from the records could mean that she became the wife of Henry Woodward and began appearing in the records as Elizabeth Woodward. Samuel B. Woodward and Hubert Madison Woodward in 1934 appear to have been the first to suggest it:

Henry joined the church in 1639, but Elizabeth Woodward must have been a church member when her children were baptised. There was an Elizabeth Cunliffe, daughter

World is his appearance on the list of Dorchester church congregants written between 23 August 1636 and 4 November 1639, as noted above.

²¹ The eight married women named Elizabeth and their husbands were: Elizabeth and Israel Stoughton, Elizabeth and Henry Withington, Elizabeth and Nathaniel Duncan, Elizabeth and Augustine Clement, Elizabeth and Thomas Wiswall, Elizabeth and John Kingsley, Elizabeth and Thomas Swift, and Elizabeth and Joseph Farneworth.

²² Elizabeth Tilestone is claimed as the wife of Thomas Tilestone in *Anderson, Great Migration*, 7:46–50. Thomas Tilestone was a Dorchester resident but was not included on the Dorchester Church list described above, presumably because he arrived before the Richard Mather group and was a member of the church that formed before the majority of the original Dorchester settlers removed to Windsor, Connecticut, prior to the arrival of the Mather group. Elizabeth Pitts was probably the woman of that name whose estate was administered by her daughter and son-in-law in Suffolk County in 1655. See *Anderson, Great Migration*, 3:352. Elizabeth Williams may have been the sister of Richard Williams who was named as Elizabeth Williams of New England in a 1650 English will by a sister who seemed to have been in touch with her siblings in the colonies. See Henry F. Waters, “Genealogical Gleanings in England,” *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register* 37 (October 1883): 376–377, citing “Aylett, 292.” See also Josiah H. Drummond, “Response by Hon. Josiah H. Drummond,” in *Quarter Millennium Celebration of the City of Taunton, Massachusetts, Tuesday and Wednesday, June 4 and 5, 1889* (Taunton, Massachusetts: City Government, 1889), 113–116. Elizabeth Farnham may have been one of two people mentioned in the vital records of Boston: Elizabeth “Ferman / Farman” who married Thomas Edzall in 1652 and Elizabeth Farnam who married Joshua Carwithy in 1657. See *Torrey, New England Marriages*, 1:286, 499. Elizabeth Drake may have been the person of that name recorded in Boston vital records as marrying Ezekiel Hamlin on 8 August 1654. See *Torrey, New England Marriages*, 2:690. The fates of Elizabeth Craine and Elizabeth Gallet are unknown, but their admittance to the church at the late date of 1641 likely eliminates them as possible wives of Henry Woodward.

²³ Searches of Ancestry.com, FamilySearch.org, and AmericanAncestors.org on 14 August 2022 yielded no additional New World records of Elizabeth Cunliffe or Condliffe.

of Henry Cunliffe, who was a member of Dorchester Church at this time, and, as Henry Cunliffe went with Henry Woodward to Northampton, it is not improbable that this Elizabeth was Henry's wife.^[24]

The distinguished genealogist Mary Lovering Holman^[25] embraced the Cunliffe proposal in the 1948 first volume of her *Ancestry of Colonel John Harrington Stevens and His Wife Frances Helen Miller*. Holman noted that there is no record of an Elizabeth Woodward joining the Dorchester church, but there is a record of her being dismissed. Therefore she surely joined the church under another name:

Henry is listed as one of the first members of the Dorchester church in 1639, at which time he either was not married and his intended wife was a member of the church, or his wife was not with him, as there is a blank space opposite his name in the column of women's names. The records of the church do not cite that Elizabeth Woodward was ever admitted to membership, but she *was* a member, for she was later dismissed to Northampton. It is extremely probable that she was admitted to the church under her maiden name and was a member in full communion before they were married.

On the church records of Dorchester is an Elizabeth Cundliffe, and as Henry Cunliffe's wife was Susanna, it is possible that Elizabeth was his *sister* and that she might have been the wife of Henry Woodward.^[26]

Holman had good reason to suggest that Elizabeth Cunliffe was a sister rather than a daughter of Henry Cunliffe. Henry Cunliffe soon after arrival in Dorchester married a woman named Susanna and the couple had their only known child, a daughter Susan baptized in 1645.^[27] Presuming that Henry Cunliffe was probably no older than forty at the birth of his daughter, he was likely too young to appear with an adult daughter in a list created between 1636 and 1639. While it could be suggested that Elizabeth Cunliffe might have been a first wife of Henry Cunliffe, the typography of the list suggests otherwise, as the two Cunliffes are on different parts of the list and lack the uniting cross used elsewhere by the list-taker to denote married couples.^[28]

Henry Woodward and Henry Cunliffe were close allies in Massachusetts, as were their wives Elizabeth and Susanna, adding credence to the suggestion that they may have been brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. The two husbands were part of a group of four men dismissed together from the Dorchester church to the Northampton church on 28 April 1661 (acknowledging that one of the other men was Eleazer

²⁴ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 14.

²⁵ Holman was named to the National Genealogy Hall of Fame in 2005. See National Genealogical Society, "National Genealogy Hall of Fame Members," NGSGenealogy.org.

²⁶ Mary Lovering Holman and Winifred Lovering Holman, *Ancestry of Colonel John Harrington Stevens and His Wife Frances Helen Miller*, two volumes (Concord, New Hampshire: Rumford Press, 1948–1952), 1:400, 401.

²⁷ Warner and Webb, "John Webb," 134. See also *Hampshire County Probate*, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," [234]–[236].

²⁸ *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 1–6.

Mather).^[29] Five months later, the two wives were part of a group of three women dismissed together.^[30]

Significantly, Henry Woodward was one of two witnesses to Henry Cunliffe's 1669 will and he accompanied the newly widowed Susanna Cunliffe to the probate court for the presentation of the will.^[31] If Henry Woodward was Susanna's only brother-in-law, those would be natural roles for him to play. While Henry Woodward did not act as executor or take the inventory of the estate, one of the two people who did was his son-in-law Medad Pomeroy (acknowledging that Medad was also connected to the Cunliffe family by virtue of his late brother Eldad's betrothal to Susan Cunliffe, for which see below). If Elizabeth Woodward was born Elizabeth Cunliffe, then Medad Pomeroy was the husband of the deceased man's niece.

Henry Cunliffe did not mention a sister Elizabeth in his brief will, but that is perhaps not surprising given that he had no sons and left virtually all of his estate to his widowed wife for her upkeep and that of their only child. He did leave a small legacy to a grandson of Richard Mather "as a testimony of my unfeigned respects unto his progenitors & in perticular of his honord Grandfather Mr Richard Mather,"^[32] but that is immaterial to the present discussion as no one has suggested that Henry Cunliffe might have married a Mather.

Also significantly, on "10th 10th Month 1675" [10 December 1675] Henry Woodward was one of two people who took the inventory of the estate of the deceased Susanna Cunliffe.^[33] As above, if Henry Woodward was Susanna's only brother-in-law, that would be a natural role for him to play.

Members of the next generation of the two families were also closely allied, as a daughter of each couple married or was betrothed to a Pomeroy brother. As noted above, a daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Woodward married Northampton blacksmith Medad Pomeroy.^[34] The daughter of Henry and Susanna Cunliffe was betrothed to Medad's brother, Eldad Pomeroy (Eldad died before the marriage took place but their betrothal was discussed in a probate court hearing on the disposition of his estate, an estate that was administered by Medad).^[35] After Eldad's death, Henry and Susanna's daughter married second Matthew Cole, and then after Cole's death, John Webb Jr., the son of Northampton's other blacksmith.^[36] The betrothals of the Woodward and Cunliffe daughters to brothers and their eventual marriages to men

²⁹ Dorchester Church Records Published, 38.

³⁰ Dorchester Church Records Published, 38.

³¹ Hampshire County Probate, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," [234]–[236].

³² Hampshire County Probate, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," [234]–[236]. See also Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:117.

³³ Hampshire County Probate, 1:175 verso – 176 recto.

³⁴ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 18–19.

³⁵ Hampshire County Probate, 1:14, 22, 23, 31, 32. See also Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633*, three volumes (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1995), 3:1488; via "The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633," AmericanAncestors.org.

³⁶ Warner and Webb, "John Webb," 134–135.

associated with the same occupation demonstrate that the families were very close, as one would expect if Elizabeth Woodward and Henry Cunliffe were siblings.

No people known to have been connected to the Mather or Cunliffe families participated in the administration of the 1683 intestate estate of Henry Woodward^[37] or the 1690 estate of the widowed Elizabeth Woodward,^[38] but that is perhaps not surprising as Elizabeth's son-in-law Medad Pomeroy was available to oversee the settlement of the estates and did so.

On the presumption that Elizabeth Woodward may have been the sister of Henry Cunliffe, English records were searched for the possible siblings' birth family. Virtually all Lancashire people named Cunliffe came from villages within sixteen miles of Blackburn, Lancashire (thirty-seven miles from Liverpool where the Dorchester ships departed from), so it is likely Henry and Elizabeth came from that area (there were also a few Cunliffes in Yorkshire, about ninety-six miles from Liverpool).^[39]

As a prelude to a search, known facts about Elizabeth Woodward and Henry Cunliffe were examined to establish possible birth date ranges for each. The widest possible range of Elizabeth Woodward's birth is probably between 1597 (which would make her age 50 at the birth of her last child^[40] and age 93 at death^[41]) and 1629 (which would make her age 13 at the birth of her first child^[42]). However, if Elizabeth Woodward was the Elizabeth Cunliffe who was added to the list of Dorchester church members sometime between 23 August 1636 and 4 November 1639,^[43] the upper end of the range can be moved back to 4 November 1625 (since age 14 was the minimum age for Puritan church membership).^[44] Thus if Elizabeth Woodward was Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward, she was surely born between 1597 and 4 November 1625. Moving from certainty to probability, a more realistic range was probably between 1602 (which would make her age 45 at the birth of her last child) and 1623 (which would make her age 19 at the birth of her first child).

Six women named Elizabeth Cunliffe were found in extant records as born in England between 1597 and 4 November 1625.^[45] Biology suggests that the earliest born

³⁷ Hampshire County Probate, 1:228 verso, 240 verso, 242 recto, 250 recto; 2:16.

³⁸ Hampshire County Probate, 2:16, 65.

³⁹ A 22 August 2021 search of Ancestry.com restricting the last name to Cunliffe and variants, the place to England, and the time span to 1590 to 1630 yielded 118 results in Lancashire, sixteen in Yorkshire, and seven in London and other places.

⁴⁰ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 22.

⁴¹ Northampton Vital Record Notes, Elizabeth Woodward death record, 13 August 1690. See also Samuel W. Lee, compiler, "Register of the Deaths in Northampton, MS., from Its First Settlement in 1653 to 1700," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 3 (October 1849): 400.

⁴² Dorchester Church Records Published, 155.

⁴³ Woodward and Cunliffe membership records, First Church, Dorchester, Massachusetts; via Massachusetts Historical Society microfilm publication, *First Parish Church in Dorchester Records*, 1 reel, reel P-678, 1:2–6. See also Dorchester Church Records Published, 1–6.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*, second edition (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2009), 63.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth, daughter of James, baptized Blackburn, Lancashire, 6 November 1604. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:11. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Elizabetha Cunliffe" baptism record, 6 November 1604. Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, baptized Great Harwood, Lancashire, 22 May 1612. See "Elizabeth Conndliffe" baptism record, 22 May 1612, baptism, marriage, and burial records of St.

one, Elizabeth, daughter of James, baptized Blackburn, Lancashire, 6 November 1604,^[46] is the most likely candidate, because if Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward was any of the other candidates she would have stopped having children at ages, respectively, 35 or 36, 32 or 33, 27 or 28, 26 or 27, or 23 or 24, which would have been unusual for a woman in a situation in which she would likely have extended childbearing as late as possible. If she was the daughter of James of Blackburn, she would have stopped having children at age 43 or 44 and died at age 85.

A similar birth range was established for Henry Cunliffe. He was surely born between 1585 (which would make him age 60 at the birth of his only known child) and 4 November 1625 (at least age 14 at church membership). Again, moving from certainty to probability, a more realistic range was probably between 1595 (which would make him age 50 at the birth of his child) and 1625 (which would make him age 20 at the birth of his child^[47]). Four men named Henry Cunliffe were found to have been born in England between 1585 and 4 November 1625.^[48] Biology suggests the second

Bartholomew Church, Great Harwood Parish, Lancashire, England; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Parish Registers for Great Harwood, 1547–1948*, 8 reels, reel 1278890; via “England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” FamilySearch.org. Elizabeth, daughter of Richard, baptized Whalley, Lancashire, 1 December 1615. See “Elizabetha Cunliffe” baptism record, 1 December 1615, baptism, marriage, and burial records of Whalley Parish, Lancashire, England; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Parish Registers for Whalley, 1538–1900*, 2 reels, reel 1471099; via “England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” FamilySearch.org. Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, baptized Halifax, Yorkshire, 28 May 1620. See “Elizab Conliffe” baptism record, 28 May 1620, baptism, marriage, and burial records of St. John the Baptist Parish, Halifax, Yorkshire, England; via West Yorkshire Archive Service microfilm publication, *Yorkshire Parish Records*; via “West Yorkshire, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1512–1812,” Ancestry.com. Elizabeth, daughter of John, baptized Whalley, Lancashire, 4 March 1620[/21]. See “Elizabetha Cunliffe” baptism record, 4 March 1620[/21], baptism, marriage, and burial records of Whalley Parish, Lancashire, England; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Parish Registers for Whalley, 1538–1900*, 2 reels, reel 1471099; via “England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” FamilySearch.org. Elizabeth, daughter of Richard, baptized Blackburn, Lancashire, 14 November 1624. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:58. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Elizabeth Cunliffe” baptism record, 14 November 1624.

⁴⁶ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:11. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Elizabetha Cunliffe” baptism record, 6 November 1604.

⁴⁷ Warner and Webb, “John Webb,” 134. See also Hampshire County Probate, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” [234]–[236].

⁴⁸ Henry, son of Ellis, baptized Bury, Lancashire, 29 August 1591. See “Henry Cunliffe” baptism record, 29 August 1591, baptism, marriage, and burial records of Bury Parish, Lancashire, England; via William Joseph Lowenburg and others, compilers, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancashire*, three volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 1, 10, 24 (Leyland, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1898–1905); via Genealogical Society of Utah microfilm publication, 3 reels, reel 496822; via “England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” Ancestry.com. Henry, son of James, baptized Blackburn, Lancashire, 5 January 1605[/06]. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:14. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Henricus Cunliff” baptism record, 5 January 1605[/06]. Henry, son of Henry, baptized Bury, Lancashire, 10 December 1609. See “Henry Cunliffe” baptism record, 10 December 1609, baptism, marriage, and burial records of Bury Parish, Lancashire, England; via William Joseph Lowenburg and others, compilers, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancashire*, three volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 1, 10, 24 (Leyland, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1898–1905); via Genealogical Society of Utah microfilm publication, 3 reels, reel 496822; via “England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975,” Ancestry.com. Henry, son of Christopher, baptized Bury, Lancashire, 9 February 1612[/13]. See

man, Henry, son of James, baptized Blackburn, Lancashire, 5 January 1605[/06],^[49] is the most likely candidate, because if the immigrant Henry Cunliffe was the first candidate he would have had his only known child at age 54 (an unlikely advanced age for a man who immigrated and had a child), and if he was the third or fourth he would have had the child at age 32 or 35, which would have been unusual for a man in a situation in which he would likely have extended childbearing as late as possible. If he was the son of James of Blackburn, he would have stopped having children at age 39 and died at age 63.

Significantly, this analysis reveals that the most likely candidates to have been Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward and Henry Cunliffe appear to have been siblings, the only sibling pair of those names found in England during the time spans outlined above. Both appear to be the children of James Cunliffe of Blackburn Parish, Lancashire. Furthermore, if Henry, son of James Cunliffe, did indeed depart for the New World he appears to have established a family and had it swept from him before doing so.

Records of St. Mary the Virgin Church in Blackburn provide details of Henry Cunliffe's family. No marriage record for Henry has been found, but he appears to have begun a family that was subsequently decimated, possibly by the epidemic of black plague that emanated from London in 1625.^[50] The first possible records of the family are the christening and burial of a child: Richard Cunliffe, son of "Harry," was baptized on 12 April 1625^[51] and, as son of Henry, buried on 23 January 1626[/27].^[52] Four possible members of the family then died over a span of eight weeks in the spring of 1628. Mary Cunliffe, daughter of Henry, who was baptized 5 May 1623,^[53] was possibly the unnamed daughter of Henry buried on 7 April 1628.^[54] Anne, daughter of Henry, was buried on 19 April 1628^[55] (presumably the burial record without a first name of the deceased pertains to another child and is not a second record of Anne's burial). The epidemic may also have taken Henry's parents. An unnamed wife of

"Henry Cunliff" baptism record, 9 February 1612[/13], baptism, marriage, and burial records of Bury Parish, Lancashire, England; via William Joseph Lowenburg and others, compilers, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancashire*, three volumes, Lancaster Parish Register Society [Publications] 1, 10, 24 (Leyland, England: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1898–1905); via Genealogical Society of Utah microfilm publication, 3 reels, reel 496822; via "England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975," FamilySearch.org.

⁴⁹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:14. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Henricus Cunliff" baptism record, 5 January 1605[/06].

⁵⁰ George Childs Kohn, editor, *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence from Ancient Times to the Present*, third edition (New York: Facts On File Inc., 2008), 233–234.

⁵¹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:59. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Rychard Cunlyffe" baptism record, 12 April 1625.

⁵² Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:180. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Rychard Cunlyffe" burial record, 23 January 1626[/27].

⁵³ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:55. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Marye Cunlyffe" baptism record, 5 May 1623.

⁵⁴ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:182. See also Saint Mary Church Records, daughter of "Hennery Cundliffe" burial record, 7 April 1628.

⁵⁵ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Anne Cunliffe" burial record, 19 April 1628.

James (possibly the mother of Henry) was buried 24 April 1628.^[56] James (possibly the father of Henry) was buried 21 May 1628.^[57] Two more possible family members were lost in 1635. Hester, daughter of Henry, was baptized 15 April 1632^[58] and buried 23 March 16[34/]35.^[59] An unnamed wife of Henry was buried 6 June 1635.^[60] Thus, it appears that Henry may have lost his parents, wife, and three children between 1627 and 1635. While there are minor gaps in the Blackburn burial records,^[61] no burial or other records of Henry have been found. This evidence suggests that Henry Cunliffe was on the older side when he arrived in Massachusetts, which may be why he only had one child after marrying there.

The evidence of the possible later residency in Blackburn of Elizabeth, daughter of James Cunliffe, is less clear. One burial record of an Elizabeth Cunliffe might possibly pertain to Elizabeth. A “Mrs.” Elizabeth Cunliffe was buried on 4 July 1658,^[62] but the rare use of the “Mrs.” appellation in the record suggests that she was a high-status individual, perhaps someone who had married a Cunliffe, conceivably the “Widow Cunliffe” recorded as a tenant of a Blackburn house in 1649.^[63] While it cannot be ruled out that this record refers to the daughter of James Cunliffe baptized in 1604, it seems unlikely. Two marriage records are more troublesome. An Elizabeth Cunliffe married a Christopher Moulding in Blackburn on 6 December 1625^[64] and another Elizabeth Cunliffe married a John Waring on 28 November 1635.^[65] If the first was the daughter of James, she would have been age twenty-one at marriage; if the second was the daughter of James she would have been thirty-one, a less likely marriage age. While these records must be considered evidence that Elizabeth, daughter of James, may have remained in Blackburn, thereby weakening the theory presented here, the fact remains that apparent siblings Henry and Elizabeth Cunliffe appeared in the New World and they had to come from somewhere. No records have been found that disprove the theory that Henry and Elizabeth, the children of James, were the immigrants. The best theory about the origin of the Massachusetts pair remains that the two

⁵⁶ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, wife of “Jacobi Cundliff” of Darwen burial record, 24 April 1628.

⁵⁷ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “James Cunliffe” burial record, 21 May 1628.

⁵⁸ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:78. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Hester Cunliffe” baptism record, 15 April 1632.

⁵⁹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:199. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Hester Cunliffe” burial record, 23 March 16[34/]35.

⁶⁰ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:200. See also Saint Mary Church Records, wife of “Henrici Cunliffe” burial record, 6 June 1635.

⁶¹ The gaps are outlined in Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:x–xi.

⁶² Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:241. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Elizabeth Cunliffe” burial record, 4 July 1658.

⁶³ William Alexander Abram, *A History of Blackburn: Town and Parish* (Blackburn, England: J. G. & J. Toulmin, 1877), 288.

⁶⁴ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:257. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Christopher Moulding” and “Elsabeth Cunlyffe” marriage record, 6 December 1625.

⁶⁵ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:262. See also Saint Mary Church Records, “Joh: Waringe” and “Elizabeth Cunliffe” marriage record, 28 November 1634.

marriage records pertain to other people and the New World immigrants were the children of James Cunliffe of Blackburn.

Identifying the possible mother of Henry and Elizabeth is complicated by the fact that more than one James Cunliffe appears in the records of St. Mary the Virgin Church during this time. While most records of the church do not further identify the parties named in records, from 1617 to 1628 the recordkeeper added local place names, four of which are associated with men named James Cunliffe. Two of the place names, Pleasington and Tonge Hill (an estate within the town of Pleasington) are associated with a James Cunliffe whose family is profiled in William Alexander Abram's 1877 monumental history of Blackburn.^[66] Nine records from 1600 to 1652 that mention James Cunliffe remain when those of the above family are eliminated. Two of those reference the town of Darwen, and three more refer to "Annell Clough," a place name that remains unidentified. As "Clough" means small valley, it presumably refers to a valley in the vicinity of Blackburn. The records designated as pertaining to a family of Annell Clough date from 1617 to 1621. The remaining James Cunliffe records without

⁶⁶ Abrams' flawed account, corrected by an examination of additional records, provides the following profile of the family of James Cunliffe of Tonge Hill, which shows that this James may be eliminated as a possible father of Henry and Elizabeth because he was too young to have been their father: James Cunliffe of Tonge Hill was the son of Thomas Cunliffe of Pleasington, yeoman, whose after-death inquisition was taken at Blackburn on April 8, 21 James [8 April 1623]. The inquisition reveals that Thomas died on 1 May, 7 James [1 May 1609], leaving son and heir James Cunliffe, who was age "29 years and more" on 8 April 1623 (so born about 1594). See J. Paul Rylands, compiler, *Lancashire Inquisitions Returned into the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster and Now Existing in the Public Record Office, London*, three volumes, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire [Publications] 3 (part 1), 16 (part 2), 17 (part 3) (London, England: Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1880–1888), 3:358–359, citing "Vol. xxiii. No. 18." A flawed account of the inquisition is given in William Alexander Abram, *A History of Blackburn: Town and Parish* (Blackburn, England: J. G. & J. Toulmin, 1877), 623.

James Cunliffe of Tonge Hill had as many as ten children: Roger Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 13 October 1616, buried 19 March 1623. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:33, 163. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Roger Cundliffe" baptism record, 13 October 1616; "Roger Condlyffe" burial record, 19 March 16[22/23]. Thomas Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 15 February 16[17/18]. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:36. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Thomas Cunliffe" baptism record, 15 February 16[17/18]. Giles Cunliffe, baptized 8 August 1619, buried 26 November 1675. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:41. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Gyles Cunliffe" baptism record, 8 August 1619; "Giles Cunlife" burial record, 26 November 1675. William Cunliffe, baptized 23 January 16[21/22], buried 22 May 1622. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:50, 160. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Willyam Cunlyffe" baptism record, 23 January 16[21/22]; "Willyam Cundlyffe" burial record, 22 May 1622. James Cunliffe, baptized 26 July 1626. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:64. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "James Cunlyffe" baptism record, 26 July 1626. Elizabeth Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 3 July 1632. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:78. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Elizabeth Cunliffe" baptism record, 3 July 1632. Margery Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 28 March 1636. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:90. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Margerie Cunliffe" baptism record, 28 March 1636. Richard Cunliffe, baptized 21 March 1639[40]. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:99. This record appears only in the bishop's transcript of the original register. Anne Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 30 August 1641. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:105. This record appears only in the bishop's transcript of the original register. Dorothy Cunliffe [possibly], baptized 14 November 1652. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:111. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Dorothy Cunliffe" baptism record, 14 November 1652. See also William Alexander Abram, *A History of Blackburn: Town and Parish* (Blackburn, England: J. G. & J. Toulmin, 1877), 623.

geographic references and those pertaining to Darwen appear to be connected to each other. If they are, they range from 1601 to 1609 and 1622 to 1628. Since such a gap would be unusual and the Annell Clough records fit within it, it is presumed the Darwen and Annell Clough families were one and the same, and that Annell Clough was a location associated with Darwen (similar to Tonge Hill's association with Pleasington). Thus, the remaining James Cunliffe records appear to refer to the same family.

A key record of this family is the 22 February 16[00/]01 marriage record of James Cunliffe and Agnes Heye.^[67] To assess whether Agnes survived from her marriage to the conception of Elizabeth three years later (and Henry four years later), the church's burial and marriage records were surveyed line-by-line. Both sets of records are complete from 1600 to 1606.^[68] No burial record of Agnes (Heye) Cunliffe or second marriage record of James Cunliffe was found.^[69] Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the woman who married James Cunliffe on 22 February 16[00/]01 was the same person who with him baptized a daughter Elizabeth on 6 November 1604^[70] and a son Henry on 5 January 1605[/06].^[71]

The birth family of Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward and may thus be summarized as follows: 1. James Cunliffe and Agnes Heye were married in Blackburn Parish, Lancashire, 22 February 16[00/]01^[72] (therefore both born no later than, say, 1583). An unnamed wife of James was buried 24 April 1628 (the absence of an intervening marriage for James Cunliffe suggests this was probably Agnes).^[73] James Cunliffe was buried 21 May 1628.^[74] Children of James Cunliffe: i. Elizabeth Cunliffe, baptized 6 November 1604^[75] (presumably immigrated to Massachusetts and married Henry Woodward); ii. Henry Cunliffe, baptized 5 January 1605[/06]^[76] (presumably also a New England immigrant); iii. child buried 9 July 1609;^[77] iv. Alice Cunliffe, buried 10

⁶⁷ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:246. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Jacobus Cunliffe" and "Agnes Heye" marriage record, 22 February 16[00/]01.

⁶⁸ The record runs are outlined in Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:x–xi; the records themselves appear on 1:134–136, 208–214, 246–247.

⁶⁹ The 17 April 1803 burial record of Aegidij Cunliffe might at first appear problematic, but Aegidij is the Latin form of the name Giles and is correctly indexed as such in the published records. See Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:212, 293.

⁷⁰ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:11. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Elizabetha Cunliffe" baptism record, 6 November 1604. Elizabeth is called daughter of "Jacobi Cunliffe."

⁷¹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:14. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Henricus Cunliff" baptism record, 5 January 1605[/06].

⁷² Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:246. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Jacobus Cunliffe" and "Agnes Heye" marriage record, 22 February 16[00/]01.

⁷³ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, wife of "Jacobi Cundliff" burial record, 24 April 1628. No alternative burial record Agnes (Heye) Cunliffe was found.

⁷⁴ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "James Cunliffe" burial record, 21 May 1628.

⁷⁵ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:11. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Elizabetha Cunliffe" baptism record, 6 November 1604. Elizabeth is called daughter of "Jacobi Cunliffe."

⁷⁶ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:14. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Henricus Cunliff" baptism record, 5 January 1605[/06]. Henry is called son of "Jacobi Cunliff."

⁷⁷ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:140. See also Saint Mary Church Records, child of "James Cundliffe" burial record, 9 July 1609.

November 1615;^[78] iv. Anne Cunliffe, baptized 2 February 1616[/17];^[79] v. Robert Cunliffe, baptized 13 June 1619;^[80] vi. Richard Cunliffe, baptized 26 March 1621,^[81] buried 30 March 1628;^[82] vi. James Cunliffe, baptized 30 June 1622;^[83] iv. Anne Cunliffe (again), baptized 14 December 1623,^[84] possibly the child of James buried 15 January 1623[/24].^[85]

The family of Henry Cunliffe, brother of Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward, may be summarized as follows: An unnamed wife of Henry Cunliffe was buried in Blackburn Parish on 6 June 1635.^[86] Children of Henry Cunliffe: i. Mary Cunliffe, baptized 5 May 1623,^[87] possibly the daughter of Henry buried 7 April 1628;^[88] ii. Richard Cunliffe, baptized 12 April 1625,^[89] buried 23 January 1626[/27];^[90] iii. Anne Cunliffe, buried 19 April 1628;^[91] iv. Hester Cunliffe, baptized 15 April 1632,^[92] buried 23 March 16[34/]/35.^[93] After the deaths of his wife and children, Henry and his sister Elizabeth

⁷⁸ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:146. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Alis Cundliffe" burial record, 10 November 1615. Alice's burial record does not name her father but she is placed here because she is said to be of "Annellclough."

⁷⁹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:33. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Anne Cundliffe" baptism record, 2 February 1616[/17]. Anne is called daughter of "James Cundliffe."

⁸⁰ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:41. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Robte Cundliffe" baptism record, 13 June 1619. Robert is called son of "James Cundliffe."

⁸¹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:47. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Rich: Cundliffe" baptism record, 26 March 1621. Richard is called son of "James Cundliffe."

⁸² Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:182. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Richard Cundliffe" burial record, 30 March 1628.

⁸³ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:52. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "James Cunlyffe" baptism record, 30 June 1622. James is called son of "James Cunlyffe."

⁸⁴ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:56. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Anne Cundliffe" baptism record, 14 December 1623. Anne is again called daughter of "James Cundliffe."

⁸⁵ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:171. See also Saint Mary Church Records, child of "James Cunlyffe" burial record, 15 January 1623[/24].

⁸⁶ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:200. See also Saint Mary Church Records, wife of "Henrici Cunliffe" burial record, 6 June 1635.

⁸⁷ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:55. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Marye Cunlyffe" baptism record, 5 May 1623. Mary is called son of "Harry Cunlyffe."

⁸⁸ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:182. See also Saint Mary Church Records, daughter of "Hennery Cundliffe" burial record, 7 April 1628.

⁸⁹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:59. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Rychard Cunlyffe" baptism record, 12 April 1625. Richard is called son of "Harry Cunlyffe."

⁹⁰ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:180. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Rychard Cunlyffe" burial record, 23 January 1626[/27]. Richard is called son of "Henry Cunlyffe."

⁹¹ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:183. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Anne Cunliffe" burial record, 19 April 1628. Anne is called daughter of "Henry Cunliffe."

⁹² Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:78. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Hester Cunliffe" baptism record, 15 April 1632. Hester is called daughter of "Henrie Cunliffe."

⁹³ Blackburn Parish Registers, 1:199. See also Saint Mary Church Records, "Hester Cunliffe" burial record, 23 March 16[34/]/35. Hester is called daughter of "Hen: Cunliffe."

appear to have migrated to Massachusetts, where Henry married Susanna.^[94] Child of Henry Cunliffe and Susanna: v. Susan Cunliffe, baptized 1645.^[95]

The result of this research is that while conclusive proof is lacking, existing documentation provides sufficient evidence to conclude that Elizabeth, wife of Henry Woodward of Childwall, Lancashire, and Massachusetts, was Elizabeth Cunliffe, daughter of James and Agnes (Heye) Cunliffe of Blackburn, Lancashire.

Henry and Elizabeth Woodward baptized in Dorchester their daughter Freedom in “5 mo.” [July] 1642. Their daughter Experience was baptized in Dorchester “decimo: nono: 9th mo 43” [19 November 1643].^[96] Though their baptisms are not recorded, daughter Thankful and son John were also apparently born in Dorchester.

“Henry Woodworth” was sworn a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on 10 May 1643.^[97] During more than two decades spent in Dorchester, Henry served in several official posts. On “9 of the 12 mo: 51” [9 February 1651/52], the Dorchester town clerk was referring to the fraternity of Puritan “brothers” when he wrote that “br” Henry Woodward requested a lot of common land in exchange for a lot he gave the town for use as a public road:

br Woodward desireth a little ground to set his barne upon in lew of som ground he left out at the 8 acre lottes for a high way^[98]

On “The 8 day of the 6 mo:” [8 August], probably 1652, Henry Woodward and Roger Billings were appointed by the Dorchester selectmen to build a bridge over the Neponset River:

the said Roger and Henry shall make a bridge over the river of Norponsit in the way leading from Dedham unto Rehoboth sufficient and stronge the said bridge to be in bredth fower foote standing upon three sufficient trussells being three foote high between the joyntes or their abouts, and duple brased. the peeces that lye over to be very well pinned and fastned also a rayle on either side about twoe foot and a halfe high from the bridge.^[99]

⁹⁴ Warner and Webb, “John Webb,” 134. See also *Hampshire County Probate*, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” [234]–[236].

⁹⁵ Warner and Webb, “John Webb,” 134. See also *Hampshire County Probate*, 1:150–151. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” [234]–[236].

⁹⁶ *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 155, 156. No year follows the month in the record of the baptism of “Freedom Wooward,” but the records immediately above and below are dated 1642.

⁹⁷ Lucius R. Paige, “List of Freemen,” *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register* 3 (April 1849): 190, citing “[Colonial]. R[ecords]., Vol. II pp. 27, 28.” Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:146, states that Henry was a freeman before arriving in Northampton, apparently based on this record.

⁹⁸ *Dorchester Town Records*, 306.

⁹⁹ *Dorchester Town Records*, 309–310, 316. No year is specified in the record; the records appear to have been infrequently entered as the previous record is dated “[16]42” and the next record is dated “[16]52.” That the bridge was completed in 1653 is suggested by a payment to Henry and Roger Billings for the completed construction of the bridge on a “[16]53” list of charges to the town.

Henry signed with a mark “H” to acknowledge the appointment. He would continue to sign documents by mark throughout his life.^[100] The two bridge builders were paid six pounds by the town for the completed project.^[101]

In 1654, 1656, 1658, and 1659 Henry was appointed a Dorchester fence viewer, one of several officers who ensured that landowners adequately maintained fences around fields. In 1657 Henry was appointed to lay out a highway and in 1656 and 1657 to serve as constable.^[102] On “12: 4: 1657” [12 June 1657] the Dorchester selectman ordered the payment of twenty shillings to Samuel Hemaway and the son of Thomas Bird for killing a wolf within the town boundaries after the two presented evidence of the killing to constable Henry Woodward.^[103]

After at least two decades in Dorchester, Henry Woodward and his family moved west. In 1659 the residents of Northampton ninety miles from Dorchester on the banks of the Connecticut River invited Richard Mather’s son Eleazer to serve as their minister. Mather accepted the call, and Henry chose to again follow a Mather on a settlement journey.^[104] Henry was about forty-eight years old in 1659.

Henry, Eleazer Mather, and two other Dorchester householders, Henry Cunliffe and William Clarke, were presumably on hand in Northampton on 1 June 1659 when the town meeting empowered the selectmen to grant land to those in the Dorchester party. Henry was granted a homestead lot of twelve acres on the west side of the village between the highway and what would become known as the Mill River, plus about thirty-three acres of farmland in Manhan meadow.^[105]

Six months after receiving the Northampton land grant, Henry Woodward, husbandman, sold to William Sumner on 10 November 1659 eight acres in Dorchester for fourteen pounds. The deed was acknowledged by Henry and Elizabeth Woodward on “14 (9) 1659” [14 November 1659].^[106] This was probably meadowland or woodland rather than their house site, as the family continued to spend time in Dorchester for two more years and Henry continued to serve the town in official capacities. On the same day that he acknowledged the sale of the land, the Dorchester selectmen appointed him and William Clarke to select a site for a school:

they then desired and impowered William Clarke and Henry Woodward to serch and seeke out a farme of 1000 acres of land granted unto the towne of Dorchester for the use of a scoole by the generall Court held at Boston the 18th of october: 1659:^[107]

Henry and his family’s formal move west appears to have taken place in 1661, though Henry spent part of his time in the Northampton area in 1659 and 1660. On

¹⁰⁰ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:118.

¹⁰¹ *Dorchester Town Records*, 316.

¹⁰² *Dorchester Town Records*, 67, 71, 75, 86, 87, 90, 91, 96.

¹⁰³ *Dorchester Town Records*, 85.

¹⁰⁴ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:74–81.

¹⁰⁵ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:38, 79–81. Trumbull states that Henry’s homestead was at the present location of the main campus of Smith College.

¹⁰⁶ William H. Sumner, “The Sumner Family,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (October 1855): 301, citing documents then in the possession of Clarissa Sumner of Dorchester.

¹⁰⁷ *Dorchester Town Records*, 97.

27 March 1660 Henry Woodward and Henry Cunliffe of Northampton were jurors during the first session of a newly established court at Springfield.^[108]

On “28 (2) 61” [28 April 1661], Henry and the other departing husbands, without their wives, were formally dismissed from the Dorchester church:

The day above said was dismissed Mr Eliazer Mather William Clark Henery Cunlife & Henery Woodward for to Joyne wth sume other for the gathering of a Church at Northampton^[109]

Five months later, on “1 (7) 61” [1 September 1661], their wives were also dismissed:

The day abovesaid was dismissed thes p’sons: Viz: Sarah the wife of William Clark: Elizabeth the wif of Hen: Woodward & Susana the wife of Hen Cunlife: for to Joyne to the Church at Northampton^[110]

Henry and Elizabeth’s two youngest daughters, Experience and Thankful, were not dismissed for several more years. The record of their dismissal from the church on “6 (4) 69” [6 June 1669] is the last known Dorchester record of the family:

The 6 (4) 69 the two yonger daughters of Henery Woodward was dismissed to Joyne to the Church at Northampton though neither to them are yet in full Communion^[111]

Upon the establishment of his residency in Northampton, Henry assumed roles in town government. He was named a town selectman in 1661 and would serve in the same role seven times between 1661 and 1675.^[112] On 26 March 1661, just a month before his formal dismissal from the Dorchester church, Henry served as a juror at the first county court session held at Northampton.^[113] He would serve in the same capacity in 1663 and 1664.^[114]

The Northampton church was formally organized on “18. 4. 1661” [18 June 1661], and both Henry and Elizabeth Woodward are listed as present for that event. On the same date an unnamed child of Henry Woodward, probably oldest daughter Freedom, was also admitted to the congregation.^[115] When two years later on 26 April 1663 Joseph Eliot of Roxbury was appointed to assist Eleazer Mather with his ministerial duties, Henry was chosen to travel to Roxbury to assist Eliot in moving to Northampton.^[116]

¹⁰⁸ Hampshire County Probate, 1:1. See also Warner, *Warner-Harrington Ancestry*, 4:804.

¹⁰⁹ *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 38.

¹¹⁰ *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 38.

¹¹¹ *Dorchester Church Records Published*, 11.

¹¹² *History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts*, two volumes (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1879), 1:219.

¹¹³ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:98–99.

¹¹⁴ Warner, *Warner-Harrington Ancestry*, 4:804.

¹¹⁵ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:105–109.

¹¹⁶ Trumbull, *History of Northampton*, 1:132–134.

When a Hampshire County troop of horse was formed on 31 March 1663, Henry was appointed one of its two quartermasters.^[117] Henry served as a juror at a Springfield court session on 29 September 1663 and a Northampton session on 29 March 1664. At the Northampton session Henry was also chosen to serve as a Northampton commissioner to adjudicate minor cases between court sessions.^[118] On 21 May 1664, Henry and others laid out the first county road in the newly formed Hampshire County, a way that ran along the Connecticut River from Northampton to the Connecticut border.^[119] As a Northampton commissioner Henry appeared at court sessions in Springfield on 27 September and Northampton on 3 October 1664.^[120] Henry also did work for the town of Northampton, being paid four pounds, eight shillings, one cent, on 26 December 1665 for services to the town.^[121]

From “Month 1st. 28: 1665” [28 March 1665] to 1681 Henry ran a tavern in Northampton.^[122] During the period of running the tavern he was about age fifty-four to age seventy. Municipal court sessions were held at Henry’s tavern. In several trials between 1673 and 1678 charges were brought against women who wore silk in defiance of Puritan law. Most were admonished and several were also fined.^[123]

Henry was among the Northampton residents who on “4th 11mo 1668” [4 January 1668/69] petitioned the Massachusetts General Court not to impose a two-percent impost on all goods imported into the colony.^[124]

On “4th (1) ’72 ’73” [4 March 1672/73] Henry was a member of the board of selectmen when it declared that “a great deal of trouble, detriment, and change have been brought upon this Town by reason of receiving into the same Foreigners and Strangers.” The selectmen ruled that anyone entertaining strangers in their homes for more than ten days without permission of the board would be fined ten shillings per week.^[125]

When Northampton residents donated goods to Harvard College in 1673, Henry contributed eight pounds of flax valued at eight shillings.^[126] On 31 March 1674 Henry was dismissed from militia training “by reason of his age & weakness.”^[127] In 1678 and 1680, Henry was appointed a tithingman, an official who circulated through the town

¹¹⁷ Hampshire County Probate, 1:24. See also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:118. See also Judd, History of Hadley, 219–220.

¹¹⁸ Hampshire County Probate, 1:28, 30.

¹¹⁹ Hampshire County Probate, 1:29, 32–33. See also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:163–164. See also Judd, History of Hadley, 35–36.

¹²⁰ Hampshire County Probate, 1:35, 45–46.

¹²¹ Warner, Warner-Harrington Ancestry, 4:804.

¹²² Hampshire County Probate, 1:46, 55, 71, 87, 97, 102, 116, 128, 135, 144. See also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:118, 141. Trumbull reports: “His tavern was situated a short distance easterly of the present location of Smith College Hall of Music.”

¹²³ Judd, History of Hadley, 91–93.

¹²⁴ William B. Trask, compiler, “Petitions Against Imposts, 1668,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (January 1855): 87–89.

¹²⁵ *History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts*, two volumes (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1879), 1:174.

¹²⁶ Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:571–574.

¹²⁷ Hampshire County Probate, 1:154.

during church services to bring in anyone not in attendance. Tithingmen also enforced a nine o'clock evening curfew.^[128]

On the night of 14 July 1681, the Northampton house of Henry's neighbor William Clarke burned. Clarke and his wife escaped the fire, but were injured. An enslaved person named Jack who belonged to Samuel Wolcott of Wethersfield, Connecticut, was apparently in Northampton at the time and allegedly confessed to setting fire to the house, saying he had done so by accident as he searched for food in the night with the aid of a pine torch. Jack was arrested and Henry was one of three Northampton men who transported the accused man to Springfield and from there to Boston. Jack was sentenced to death and hung in Boston.^[129]

Henry died two years later. If the Lancashire baptism record is his, he was age seventy-one at the time. The Northampton town records suggest that Henry's death was the result of an accident:

Henry Woodward was Killed at the Corn Mill Aprl 7 1683^[130]

¹²⁸ Hampshire County Probate, 1:194 verso. See also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:118, 371–374.

¹²⁹ Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:376–377.

¹³⁰ Henry Woodward death record, 7 April 1683, Northampton, Massachusetts, manuscript copy of original record book, circa 1700s, 1:136, and typescript copy of circa 1700s manuscript copy, 1984, 1:136; both via Jay and Delene Holbrook, Holbrook Research Institute, microfilm publication, *Massachusetts Vital and Town Records*; via "Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620–1988," Ancestry.com. See also Northampton Vital Record Notes, Henry Woodward death record, 7 April 1683. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. See also Hampshire County Probate, 2:16.

Henry's death at the corn mill may be the source of a claim that he worked as a miller in Northampton, a statement that has no known basis in the documentary record. The earliest known evidence of the claim dates to Henry's great-great-grandson Samuel who stated that "Henry removed to Northampton & their built a gristmill the first in the town in which he was Killed." See Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. The construction of Northampton's first gristmill did coincide with Henry's arrival in the town, but it was built by a known group of individuals that did not include Henry. Furthermore, Robert Hayward had a long tenure as the town's first miller. See Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:95–97. When a second or "upper" mill was built upstream on the Mill River in 1677, the town was unable to reach agreement with Henry about placement of a public way to the new mill across his land and had to place the easement across a neighbor's property, a circumstance that suggests that Henry was not the town miller. See Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:379. Henry's age of seventy-one at the time of his fatal accident makes it unlikely he was working as the town miller at that time. Finally, in a 1659 deed Henry called himself "husbandman" or farmer rather than miller. See William H. Sumner, "The Sumner Family," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (October 1855): 301. In the absence of additional documentation, the evidence suggests that Henry was a tavern-keeper and farmer who was perhaps at the mill to have his grain ground on the day of his death.

The exact nature of the accident that killed Henry is unknown. William Allen in 1854 claimed, without providing a source, that Henry was "killed by lightning at the upper corn mill." See William Allen, *An Address Delivered at Northampton, Mass., on the Evening of October 29, 1854, in Commemoration of the Close of the Second Century Since the Settlement of the Town* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Hopkins, Bridgman & Company, 1855), 13. Ebenezer Clapp Jr. in 1859, without providing a source, stated that Henry was "accidentally killed there by a mill wheel." See Clapp, History of Dorchester, 141. In the absence of additional documentary evidence, both statements must be considered speculative.

On 7 May 1683, an inventory of the intestate estate of Henry Woodward was made. At his death Henry owned the following: “a house & homstead,” and twenty-three acres of additional land; two oxen, two cows, one steer, one heifer, seven swine, one horse, and ten sheep; bedding, wearing apparel, tablecloths, and napkins; a cupboard, table, and chest; seven pewter platters, cups, and other pewterware; three candlesticks, a mortar and pestle, a warming pan, seven spoons, a smoothing iron, tinware, and brassware; “husbandry Instrumts & some other things in the house.” The estate was valued at 184 pounds, thirteen shillings, two pence, and was divided between Henry’s widow Elizabeth and their children and grandchildren.^[131]

Henry’s wife Elizabeth died on 13 August 1690.^[132]

Children of Henry and Elizabeth (Cunliffe) Woodward, born in Dorchester:^[133]

- i. FREEDOM² WOODWARD, baptized July 1642; died 17 May 1681; married JEDEDIAH STRONG. In March 1674[/75] Martin Smith was fined “for abuse to Jedediah Strong’s wife, in the street near her father Woodward’s house, laying hold on her to Kiss as she thinks, and she testifying her offence to be so affronted, whereby she also says she was somewhat affrighted.” Smith apologized in court, saying he was “sorrowful that he should be left to such folly,” and he was fined twenty shillings.^[134]
- ii. EXPERIENCE WOODWARD, baptized 19 November 1643; died 8 June 1686; married MEDAD POMEROY.
- iii. THANKFUL WOODWARD, born about 1646; living 1724; married JOHN TAYLOR.
- 4 iv. JOHN WOODWARD, born between 6 October 1647 and 5 October 1648; married ANNA DEWEY.

John Woodward Sr.

circa 1648–1724

Dorchester, Massachusetts
Northampton, Massachusetts
Northfield, Massachusetts
Westfield, Massachusetts
Lebanon, Connecticut

4. JOHN² WOODWARD SR. (*Henry*¹, *John*^A, *Robert*^B) was born, presumably in Dorchester, Massachusetts, between 6 October 1647 and 5 October 1648. John Sr. died in

¹³¹ Hampshire County Probate, 1:228 verso, 240 verso, 242 recto, 250 recto; 2:16.

¹³² Northampton Vital Record Notes, Elizabeth Woodward death record, 13 August 1690. See also Samuel W. Lee, compiler, “Register of the Deaths in Northampton, MS., from Its First Settlement in 1653 to 1700,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 3 (October 1849): 400.

¹³³ Dorchester Church Records Published, 155, 156. See also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:118, 556. See also Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 4:644. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 15, 17–22. The town records of the births of the Woodward children were likely among the Dorchester vital records accidentally burned in the house of Thomas Millet in 1657. See James Blake, *Annals of the Town of Dorchester*, Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society 2 (Boston: David Clapp Jr., 1846), 20. Note that the entry in Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 4:644, for “Woodward, Henry, Dorchester 1639,” meaning he was present in Dorchester in 1639, is likely the source of the widely disseminated but erroneous suggestion that Henry’s middle name was “Dorchester.”

¹³⁴ Judd, “Henry Woodward,” [2].

Lebanon, Connecticut, on 5 October 1724.^[135] He married ANNA (or HANNAH) DEWEY on 18 May 1671.^[136] Anna was baptized on 15 October 1643 in Windsor, Connecticut, the daughter of Thomas and Frances Dewey.^[137] After Anna's death, John Sr. married second DEBORAH.^[138]

After a childhood in Dorchester, John Sr. moved to Northampton with his family when he was about thirteen or fourteen years old in the spring of 1661.^[139] In the earliest record naming him, John Sr. joined his father and other Northampton residents who on "4th 11mo 1668" [4 January 1668/69] petitioned the Massachusetts General Court not to impose a two-percent impost on all goods imported into the colony.^[140] Two years later, on 18 May 1671, John Sr., age twenty-three or twenty-four, married Anna Dewey at Northampton.^[141]

In 1673, John Sr. contributed six pounds of flax valued at six shillings when his father and other Northampton residents donated goods to Harvard College.^[142] On 28 March 1674 John Sr. pledged an oath of allegiance to the colony.^[143] He was made a freeman of Northampton on 28 September 1680.^[144] On 29 March 1681 he was chosen a constable.^[145]

On 25 September 1683 John Sr. and his mother Elizabeth were named administrators of the estate of John Sr.'s father Henry. Two years later, on 1 May 1685, Elizabeth wrote her will and in it described John Sr. as "my onely Son, & blessed be God a dutiful & wel carriaged Child to me al my life."^[146]

John Sr. left his mother in Northampton when he departed for other settlements, first one to the north and then two to the south. In the spring of 1683 a committee of the Massachusetts General Court granted a group of Northampton residents land in Northfield, a town thirty miles north on the Connecticut River that had been abandoned in 1675 following attacks by Native Americans. John Sr. was granted thirty-five acres and agreed to settle with his family there by 10 May 1686.^[147] Two years after the

¹³⁵ The birth and death dates of John Woodward Sr. are derived from information on his gravestone, which states that he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age (i.e., age 76) when he died on 5 October 1724. See Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 22. A penciled note that reads "b. 6-12-1649" appears next to a sentence about John Sr.'s birth in the American Antiquarian Society version of Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 21.

¹³⁶ Northampton Vital Record Notes, John Woodward–Hannah Dewey marriage record, 18 May 1671. John Sr. and Anna's marriage record calls her "Hannah," but a record created jointly by her children and her gravestone both call her "Anna." See Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 22, 33.

¹³⁷ Orcutt, History of Torrington, 790–791. See also Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 2:43, 4:645.

¹³⁸ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 21–22.

¹³⁹ Dorchester Church Records Published, 38.

¹⁴⁰ William B. Trask, compiler, "Petitions Against Imposts, 1668," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (January 1855): 87–89.

¹⁴¹ Northampton Vital Record Notes, John Woodward–Hannah Dewey marriage record, 18 May 1671.

¹⁴² Trumbull, History of Northampton, 1:572.

¹⁴³ Hampshire County Probate, 1:125.

¹⁴⁴ Hampshire County Probate, 1:208 verso. See also Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 4:645.

¹⁴⁵ Hampshire County Probate, 1:211 recto.

¹⁴⁶ Hampshire County Probate, 2:16, 65.

¹⁴⁷ Temple, History of Northfield, 94–95.

first allotment, on 18 May 1685, John Sr., William Clarke Jr., and Richard Lyman were given “liberty to build a saw-mill” in Northfield.^[148] Sometime in 1685 or 1686, John Sr., his wife, and five surviving children apparently moved their household up the Connecticut River to the northern settlement.^[149]

The threat of attack continued to be a danger in the frontier settlement, however, as French and Native American raiding parties from Canada intensified attacks on the British settlements of New England as a prelude to King William’s War. On 16 August 1688, eleven Native Americans from the north attacked Northfield and killed six settlers, including town miller John Clary and his fifteen-year-old daughter Sarah.^[150] The attack prompted several families to flee immediately to downriver settlements, and by 1690 Northfield was again abandoned.^[151] In about that year, John Sr. and his family joined his wife Anna’s extended family in Westfield, a town seventeen miles southwest of Northampton.^[152] Sometime before April 1714 John Sr. sold his property in Northfield to Peter Evens.^[153]

John Sr.’s wife Anna was a native of Windsor, Connecticut, and at the time of her marriage was apparently a resident of Westfield in the household of her mother and stepfather. Beginning in about 1690, John Sr. and Anna resided in Westfield, until they sold their property there on 28 March 1695 and moved fifty miles farther south to Lebanon, Connecticut.^[154] John Sr. was forty-seven or forty-eight years old when he moved to Connecticut.

John Sr.’s great-grandson Samuel recounted his ancestors’ move from Northampton to Westfield and Lebanon without mentioning an interim stop in Northfield:

John removed to Westfield & he & three sons John Israel & Thomas removed to Lebanon in Connecticut on the happening of an indian war^[155]

¹⁴⁸ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 7, 97–98.

¹⁴⁹ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 96, 103–105, 108, 566. Temple and Sheldon state that, while some who received Northfield land grants and were later taxed for them did not physically remove to the settlement, John Sr. and his family were apparently among a group of about twenty-nine who actually moved there. John Sr.’s great-grandson Samuel described the ancestors’ move from Northampton to Westfield without mentioning Northfield, though his statement that the move to Westfield was made “on the happening of an indian war” suggests a Northfield residency. See Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. The unrecorded birth of John Sr.’s daughter Mary during the period in which the family is said to have resided in Northfield is perhaps further evidence that they lived in a frontier location where recordkeeping was a low priority. See Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 22.

¹⁵⁰ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 113–116.

¹⁵¹ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 124–125.

¹⁵² Temple, *History of Northfield*, 108.

¹⁵³ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 143, 173.

¹⁵⁴ Judd, “Henry Woodward,” [3]. See also Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 790–791.

¹⁵⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

In November 1695 John Sr. was among fifty-one grantees of the “five-mile purchase” from which Lebanon was formed. John Sr. received 20.25 acres.^[156] He and his family lived in a house on the Lebanon town green.^[157]

On 31 May 1698 John Sr. was elected a Lebanon selectman and on 19 April 1699 he was appointed to a committee laying out grants of land. John Sr. himself received four more grants between 1701 and 1710 and a fifth after 1710. He deeded some of that land to his sons in 1702, 1708, and 1709. In 1704 John Sr. served as a fence viewer.^[158]

While John Sr. appears to have lived on the Lebanon town green his entire life, he was likely also granted land in the northern part of town. Lebanon’s northern parish was later set off as the town of Columbia but was first known as the “Lebanon Crank” after its shape on a map,^[159] apparently because Lebanon and Columbia together resembled a pump and pump handle. A forested rise in Columbia is still known as Woodward Hill. At its peak stands the circa 1780 farmhouse of Woodward Hill Farm, which was occupied by descendants of John Sr.’s son Henry for six generations. The farm was sold out of the family in 1875, but in 2013 a descendant of the same line purchased the property.^[160] John Sr.’s great grandson Samuel in 1833 cited the hill as a notable family site:

their location is called Woodward hill to this day^[161]

¹⁵⁶ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 21.

¹⁵⁷ Walter W. Woodward, “CT History Comes Home: A Personal Discovery,” 17 March 2007, blog of the Connecticut State Historian, Web.Mac.com, citing archaeological report of Ross K. Harper, Public Archaeology Survey Team, Inc., Storrs, Connecticut. The foundation of John Sr.’s house is thought to survive to the present as part of the structure of the Jonathan Trumbull Jr. House Museum.

¹⁵⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 20–21.

¹⁵⁹ Henry Reed Stiles, *Genealogies of the Stranahan, Josselyn, Fitch and Dow Families in North America* (Brooklyn, New York: H. M. Gardner Jr., 1868), 65.

¹⁶⁰ No documentary evidence has been found to support Woodward and Woodward’s suggestion that John Sr. lived in Columbia late in his life. Northern Lebanon tracts may have been among the five additional property grants mentioned above, however. John Sr. appears to have conveyed his house on Lebanon green to his son John Jr. and northern lands to his sons Henry and Thomas, as Henry and Thomas were recorded as living in Columbia a few years after receiving land from him. See Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 21, 30, 39–40, 78, 80, 166, 167, 201, 221–223, [233]. Woodward Hill is 2.4 miles north of the Columbia town center on present-day Route 87. The hill in John Sr.’s time overlooked a forested valley, but since 1865 has overlooked the artificial Columbia Lake. See Federal Writers’ Project, *Connecticut: A Guide to Its Roads, Lore, and People*, American Guide Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938), 407–408. For the history of Woodward Hill Farm, see Walter W. Woodward, “From the State Historian: A Historian Comes Home,” *Connecticut Explored* 12 (Winter 2013–2014): 13. See also Charlotte Hitchcock, compiler, “Woodward Hill Farm,” 10 December 2013, in “Historic Barns of Connecticut: A Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation Project,” ConnecticutBarns.org.

¹⁶¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

Anna (Dewey) Woodward died on 14 January 17[06/]07 at the apparent age of sixty-three. Sometime after her death, John Sr. married a second wife whose first name was Deborah.^[162]

On 12 October 1709, when John Sr. was age sixty-one or sixty-two, he was appointed a tithingman when the Lebanon selectmen

made choice of John Woodward to take care of the Lads and young folk on the Sabbath Day and other Days of publick worship.^[163]

John Sr.'s second wife Deborah died on 2 October 1724. Just three days later, on 5 October 1724, John Sr. died and was buried next to both his wives in Trumbull Cemetery in Lebanon. The epitaphs on the gravestones of Deborah and John Sr. read:

Here Lyes the Body of Mrs. Deborah Later Wife to Mr. John Woodward, Deceased
Who Died October the 2nd 1724 in the 84th Year of Her Age

Here Lyes the Body of Mr. John Woodward Who Died October the 5th 1724 in the
Seventy Seventh Year of his Age^[164]

¹⁶² Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 21–22. Woodward and Woodward noted that Anna's gravestone states that she died "in the 63d. year of her age," i.e., at age sixty-two, but assigned her the age of sixty-three at death without further elaboration. Based on her baptism date and the statement on her gravestone, her year of death was probably 1706/07 rather than 1707/08 and her age at death was probably sixty-three.

¹⁶³ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 21. On the same page Woodward and Woodward mistakenly state that John Sr. was a delegate to the 1708 convention that put forth the Saybrook Platform, an influential document calling for reform of the political structure of the Congregational Church of New England. The Saybrook Platform author, however, was actually Rev. John Woodward of Norwich. See Williston Walker, "Why Did Not Massachusetts Have a Saybrook Platform?" *Yale Review* 1 (May 1892): 83. Rev. John Woodward of Norwich was also probably the "Mr. Woodward" who was the subject of a letter from Cotton Mather to Joseph Parsons dated "22 d. XI m. 1716" [22 January 1716/17], despite a reference to Lebanon in the letter. Parsons was Lebanon's minister from 1700 to 1708, and apparently was at odds with Rev. John during that time. When Parsons later applied to be a Boston minister, Mather wrote him a letter detailing negative reports that had reached Mather about Parsons' tenure in Lebanon: "It is affirmed, that you uttered Scandals, of the same Tendency concerning Mr Woodward, while it was thought he did not favour your Interests at Lebanon. But afterwards Mr. Woodward was a better man." See *Diary of Cotton Mather*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th series, volumes 7, 8 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911–1912), 8:427, citing a manuscript in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. See also Clifford K. Shipton and others, editors, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, eighteen volumes to date (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1873–), 4:186–188, 366–369.

¹⁶⁴ Connecticut Photographs 2014, John Woodward Sr. gravestone photographs, Trumbull Cemetery, Lebanon, Connecticut, 5 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, John Woodward Sr. gravestone photographs, Karen Carlini and Sara (last name not provided), Old Cemetery (Trumbull Cemetery), Lebanon, Connecticut, 6 September 2010, 19 November 2010, 11 May 2014, Find A Grave Memorial 46184952, John Beckstein and S. J. Dewey, 31 December 2009. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 21–22.

Soon after John Sr.'s death, his children deeded his land to his son John Jr. in recognition of the care John Jr. provided to their parents in their elder years:

Wee, Henry Woodward, Thomas Woodward, Stephen Lee, and Elizabeth Lee his wife, Richard Lyman, and Mary Lyman his wife, all of Lebanon; in consideration of the care and maintainance of our honored father and mother, John and Anna Woodward, for many years, until their decease, done by our brother John Woodward, of Lebanon; give to our brother John the land, that did belong to our honored father, now deceased.^[165]

Children of John Sr. and Anna (Dewey) Woodward:^[166]

- i. ELIZABETH³ WOODWARD, born 17 March 16[71/]72; married STEPHEN LEE.
- 5 ii. JOHN WOODWARD JR., born 2 April 1674; married EXPERIENCE BALDWIN.
- iii. SAMUEL WOODWARD, born 20 March 16[75/]76; died 20 October 1676.
- iv. HENRY WOODWARD, born 18 March 16[79/]80; married HANNAH BARROW OR BURROUGHS.
- v. THOMAS WOODWARD,^[167] born 22 April 1682; married (1) HANNAH LOOMIS, (2) DOROTHY BABCOCK PINEO.^[168]
- vi. ISRAEL WOODWARD,^[169] born 6 February 16[84/]85; died 11 August 1706.
- vii. MARY WOODWARD,^[170] born about 1687; married RICHARD LYMAN.

John Woodward Jr.

1674–1743

Northampton, Massachusetts
Northfield, Massachusetts
Westfield, Massachusetts
Lebanon, Connecticut

5. JOHN³ WOODWARD JR. (*John Sr.*², *Henry*¹, *John*^A, *Robert*^B) was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, on 2 April 1674. John Jr. died in Lebanon, Connecticut, on 19 September 1743. He married EXPERIENCE BALDWIN on 2 June 1703 in Lebanon.^[171]

¹⁶⁵ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 33. The statement is said by Woodward and Woodward to be in the records of the town of Lebanon and is dated by them to November 1723, but as John Sr. died in October 1724 that date must be an error. The correct date is probably November 1724.

¹⁶⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 22–33.

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

¹⁶⁸ Louis Clinton Hatch, editor, *Maine: A History*, five volumes (New York: American Historical Society, 1919), [4]:295.

¹⁶⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

¹⁷⁰ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 22. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, 4:645, does not include Mary in a list of John Sr.'s children, but her inclusion in the above record in which she joins her siblings in transferring her father's land to her brother John Jr. makes it certain that she was his child. The birth year suggested by Woodward and Woodward falls within the period in which her family was said to have resided in frontier Northfield, providing a plausible reason why her birth was not recorded.

¹⁷¹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 23–24.

Experience was born on 3 August 1684 in Lebanon, the daughter of John and Experience (Abell) Baldwin.^[172]

John Jr. was about eleven years old when he moved with his family from Northampton to frontier Northfield.^[173] When he was fourteen, Native Americans raided Northfield and killed six residents, including Sarah Clary who was just a year older than he.^[174] After the abandonment of Northfield, John Jr. spent his teen years in Westfield. He was twenty-one when his family moved south to Lebanon, Connecticut, where he would remain for the rest of his life.^[175]

John Jr. was recalled by his grandson Samuel Woodward, who said that John Jr. operated a store or “stand in the centre of Lebanon.”^[176] John Jr. was a farmer and also a barrel maker, or cooper.^[177] Samuel Woodward, a physician, wrote further of John Jr. and recalled that he died before his seventieth birthday:

My grand father John Woodward was a Justice of Peace & a man something distinguished.^[178]

My grandfather Woodward’s age between 60 & 70 troubled for many years before death with nephritic complaints^[179] I suspect he had a calculous connection—^[180]

John Jr. was also recalled by another grandson, Samuel’s first cousin, John Dewey Jr.:

I have an account of all the Representatives that ever went to the assemblies in this state. I find our hond Granfather went Grate number of times his first going was in 1720 and he went about twice a year for ten years and then stopt going^[181]

John Jr. held several official positions in Lebanon. He was constable in 1703, surveyor of highways in 1705, brander of cattle in 1725, and brander of horses in 1728. John Jr. was a Lebanon selectman in 1717 and 1719, and from 1725 through 1726 and 1731 through 1735. In 1712 John Jr. held a tavern license, apparently associated with his stand in the center of Lebanon.^[182]

From 1720 through 1731 John Jr. represented Lebanon in the Connecticut General Assembly. John Jr. was appointed to committees overseeing the construction of

¹⁷² Horace A. Abell and Lewis P. Abell, *The Abell Family in America* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle Publishing Company, [1940]), 56.

¹⁷³ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 94–95, 104, 108, 566.

¹⁷⁴ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 113–116.

¹⁷⁵ Temple, *History of Northfield*, 108. See also Judd, “Henry Woodward,” [3]. See also Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 790–791.

¹⁷⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]

¹⁷⁷ John Jr.’s inventory and will mention farm and cooper tools. See Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 25, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

¹⁷⁹ Kidney problems.

¹⁸⁰ Kidney stones. Samuel Woodward Letter 1814, [1].

¹⁸¹ John Dewey Letter, [1].

¹⁸² Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 23.

meetinghouses in Voluntown and East Haddam and the setting off of a congregation in Windham, Connecticut. He was one of three who on 31 May 1726 pledged a surety of two thousand pounds in support of the appointment of Jabez Huntington as sheriff of Windham County, Connecticut. In 1730 John Jr. joined others from Lebanon in petitioning the legislature to issue a patent confirming the proprietors' title to the land of the town. Each year from 1725 through 1743 John Jr. was appointed a county justice of the peace.^[183]

Fifty-one year old John Jr. had only been a justice of the peace two months when in the summer of 1725 he exercised his authority against members of the Rogerenes, a religious sect founded in the 1670s by Connecticut resident John Rogers. The Rogerenes adopted Quaker manner and dress and, in opposition to laws requiring attendance at Sunday meeting, worshipped on Saturdays.^[184] John Rogers Jr., son of the founder, described what happened as he and two fellow adherents walked down a Lebanon road following a Saturday meeting in July or August 1725:

as we were returning home from our Meeting, we were again three of us taken up on the King's High-way, by order of *John Woodward* and *Ebenezer West* of *Lebanon*, called Justices of the Peace, and the next day by them sentenced to be whipt, and were accordingly carried to the place of Execution, and stript in order to receive the Sentence; but there happening to be present some tender spirited People, who seeing the Wounds in our Bodies which we had received the Week before, paid the Fine, and so prevented the Punishment. Also the same *John Woodward* soon after this, committed two of our Brethren to Prison, (*viz*) *Richard Man* and *Elisha Man*, for not attending the *Presbyterian* Meeting, although they declared it to be contrary to their Consciences so to do. Neither have their Persecutors allowed them one meal of Victuals, nor so much as Straw to lie on, all the time of their Imprisonment, altho' they are well known to be very poor Men.^[185]

In May 1726, the Connecticut legislature made the following appointment:

This Assembly do establish and confirm Mr. John Woodward, of Lebanon, to be Captain of the north company or trainband of the south society in Lebanon aforesaid, and order that he be commissioned accordingly.^[186]

¹⁸³ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 23–24. See also Hoadly, *Records of Connecticut*, 6:207, 233, 270, 329, 411, 439, 448, 482, 513, 518, 553; 7:2, 4, 12–13, 49, 55, 87, 88, 93, 123, 148, 154, 191, 194, 225, 271, 277–278, 293, 318–319, 346, 367, 406, 427, 440, 485–486, 545; 8:30, 82, 159, 225, 289, 368, 448–449, 515, citing Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 5:227, 249, 272, 315, 391, 413, 420, 438, 458, 463, 494, 516, 517, 523, 547, 573, 577, 598, 616, 621, 649, 652, 679, 721–722, 714–715; 6:1, 24, 50, 71, 101, 117, 125, 155–156, 203, 247, 287, 353, 406; 7:5, 68, 130, 174, and the Journal of the Governor and Council, p. 260, 266.

¹⁸⁴ Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 106–108.

¹⁸⁵ John Rogers Jr., *An Answer to a Book Lately Put Forth by Peter Pratt* ([New York]: [William Bradford], 1726), 60–61.

¹⁸⁶ Hoadly, *Records of Connecticut*, 7:4, citing Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 5:517.

Thereafter, listings of John Jr.'s name often included the title "captain."^[187]

John Jr. served in May 1730 on a committee to determine the dividing line between the towns of Lebanon and Colchester. Among the landmarks used to define the line were a "heap of stones laid in a small pond hole," "a swamp white oak tree fallen down," "a large rock having stones laid on it," and "two large chestnut trees growing out of one root."^[188]

John Jr.'s wife Experience died on 9 April 1741.^[189] Five months later on 8 September the sixty-seven year old John Jr.'s namesake son was drowned in a Connecticut River ferry accident while traveling to visit friends at Yale College.^[190] The year before the fatal accident the twenty-two year old victim had graduated from Yale seventh in his class, the first descendant of Henry Woodward to earn a college degree.^[191]

Mr. *John Woodward*, Bachelour of Arts of *Yale College*, Son of Capt. *John Woodward* Esq; and Mr. *Samuel Gray*, Son of Capt. *Ebenezer Gray* Esq; of *Lebanon*, were going to *New-Haven*, *Septemb. 8th*, and crossing the Ferry at *Haddam*, the Wind being very high, and the Boat leaky it fill'd with Water, Messieurs *Woodward & Gray*, and another Passenger got upon their Horses, and when they had Swam between 20 & 30 Rods, which was about half way between the Shoar and the place where the Boat fill'd and turn'd over, Mr. *Woodward's* Horse drown'd, and he himself sank. Mr. *Gray's* Horse carried him to Shoar. Another Person got to Shoar; and Two were preserved on the Boat turn'd bottom upwards.

The account also noted that an African American man also drowned.^[192]

In a 13 September sermon in the Lebanon meetinghouse, minister Solomon Williams noted that the grieving John Jr.'s loss was compounded by health problems and by the fact that he had so few children. The minister called him his drowned son's

aged Father, who has long been afflicted and ready to die with grievous Pains in his own Body^[193]

The body of the deceased son was discovered seven miles downstream in Lyme more than five days later and immediately buried.^[194]

Seven weeks after his son's death, on 26 October 1741, John Jr. wrote his will, stating that he was

of poor estate as to bodyly health yet of sound and Disposing mind and memory for wch I desire to bless God the giver of all my mercies and now Caling to mind the

¹⁸⁷ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 24.

¹⁸⁸ Hoadly, *Records of Connecticut*, 7:284–286, citing Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 5:729–730.

¹⁸⁹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 24.

¹⁹⁰ Williams, *Surprising Variety*, 36. See also "Boston," *Boston News-Letter*, 17 September 1741, 2. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1].

¹⁹¹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 38.

¹⁹² Williams, *Surprising Variety*, 36.

¹⁹³ Williams, *Surprising Variety*, [ii], 38.

¹⁹⁴ Williams, *Surprising Variety*, 38.

mortality of my body and Knowing that it is appointed for all men ones to die Do make this my last Will and Testament

John Jr. divided his possessions between his two surviving children. Israel received “all of the lands that I now poses.”

I also give him all my Husbandry Tools as Carts, ploughs and all other tools used in Husbandry Whatsoever and one bed and my Cooper Tools I also Give Him my Gun and Sword and the one Half of my Wearing Cloathes of all sorts I also give him one half of my Books

Israel was directed to pay his sister Experience Dewey one hundred pounds.

Three years after my Decease I also give her all my Indoar household Goods and furniture of all sorts and Things Excepting what I have Given as above to Israel as my bed that I lie on and one other bed that my Son John used at Collidg and beding and all other things used in the house or made to be used This as one half of my Books I also give to her all my Stock of Cattle and Sheep whatsoever Such That I Have in my own Hands or have Hird out into the hands of any others

In Case my son Israel Do not pay to his sister the hundred pounds by the time as above exprest then She Shall Have twenty acres of my land at that end nexr to Mr Bushnells land

John Jr. named Israel the executor of his estate.^[195]

John Jr. died two years after his namesake son, on 19 September 1743.^[196] His grandson John Dewey Jr. said kidney stones were the cause of his death:

he was troubled with a Gravelly disorder which Ended his life.^[197]

On 2 December an inventory of John Jr.’s estate was taken. His possessions were forty acres of woodland; a cow and sixteen sheep; wearing apparel, bed and bedstead, and chest with drawer; churn, cedar tub, and cooper tools; books, silver cup, great chair and cushion; gun, sword, and sheep shears; frying pan, iron kettles, and brass skillet; warming pan, fire tongs, and fireplace pothook; earthenware, pewterware, and woodenware; bottle, knife, and fork.^[198]

¹⁹⁵ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 25–27.

¹⁹⁶ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 24.

¹⁹⁷ John Dewey Letter, [1].

¹⁹⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 24–25. Woodward and Woodward state that the inventory was filed in Watertown, Connecticut (i.e., the part of Waterbury that would later become Watertown), where John Jr.’s son Israel lived, and suggested that therefore John Jr. was probably living with Israel. The inventory is datelined Lebanon, however, which suggests that John Jr.’s household was in that town.

Children of John Jr. and Experience (Baldwin) Woodward:^[199]

- i. EXPERIENCE⁴ WOODWARD, born 10 August 1704; married JOHN DEWEY SR.
- 6 ii. ISRAEL WOODWARD, born 5 June 1707; married ABIGAIL BEARD.
- iii. JOHN WOODWARD; born 28 March 1719; died 8 September 1741.

Israel Woodward

1707–1799

Lebanon, Connecticut
Watertown, Connecticut

6. ISRAEL⁴ WOODWARD (*John Jr.*³, *John Sr.*², *Henry*¹, *John*^A, *Robert*^B) was born on 5 June 1707 in Lebanon, Connecticut.^[200] He died on 16 August 1799 in Watertown, Connecticut.^[201] Israel married ABIGAIL BEARD on 31 March 1731 in Lebanon.^[202] Abigail was baptized on 12 September 1708 in Milford, Connecticut, the daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Clark) Beard of Milford and later Huntington, Connecticut.^[203]

“My parents were in low circumstances,” Israel and Abigail’s son Samuel Woodward recalled of his father and mother, “but sustained respectable characters”:^[204]

Notwithstanding our parents were poor & rubed pretty hard, the family were always considered reputable. & it is now remarked that the family of Woodward’s on the whole are the most distinguished family ever raised in the town. My father’s education was common, he was a middling good reader & wrote a decent hand but his reading seldom extended beyond the Bible & the news paper, my mother was a decent reader for the Time. They were inclined to improve all the opportunity offered for the education of their children, but theirs was miserable enough^[205]

My father in stature was rather large about the size of his son Elijah, his talents about the middle scale, of a merry turn strong & athletic, a hard laboring man, & bad economist rather inclined to intemperance or may be said to love spirits but was not a drunkard, was a member of the presbyterian church regularly said his prayers & perform all the regular ceremonies of that order, no storm or tempest hindered him from meeting on the sabbath^[206]

¹⁹⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. See also John Dewey Letter, [1]. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 27, 34–38.

²⁰⁰ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 34.

²⁰¹ Barbour Collection Vital Records, 49:235, citing Watertown vital records, 152.

²⁰² Barbour Collection Vital Records, 22:233, citing Lebanon vital records, 1:330.

²⁰³ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1] (name given as “Bard”). See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1] (name given as “Beard”). See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 34 (name given as “Baird, Beard, Bard, or Bayard”). See also Susan Woodruff Abbot, compiler, *Families of Early Milford, Connecticut*, edited by Jacquelyn L. Ricker (1979; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2004), 85. Abigail’s grandson, Samuel Bayard Woodward, received “Bayard” as a middle name, surely as a way of preserving Abigail’s birth name. Earlier generations of Abigail’s family, however, most frequently used the spelling “Beard.”

²⁰⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1].

²⁰⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [3].

²⁰⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [2].

with regard to genius & morals my father sustained about a medium grade of intellect was a farmer a hard laboring man but not possessed with economy he went through life lived comfortably raised a great family & gave them as good a chance of education as his circumstances would admit possessed about 60 acres of land was not careful to pay debts was often troubled with suits &c. When in early part of life he kept a public house got a habit of using spirits of which he was fond sometimes used too much but did not sustain the character of a drunkard lived and died a member of the presbyterian church & an honest man^[207]

As a young man Israel took over the Lebanon stand of his father John Jr., according to Samuel:

My father his only surviving son occupied his stand in the centre of Lebanon & kept for a time a tavern^[208]

My father was a farmer but did work some at the trade of a mason having a small farm & a large family he used to work abroad at stone work laying wall & occasionally building chimneys—^[209]

Israel bought and sold several lots of land in Lebanon. On 20 March 1732[/33], Israel's father John Jr. deeded him half his home lot and leased him half his house. Israel also held an appointed post, in 1736 serving as a church deacon.^[210]

On 30 December 1739, a household accident took the life of Israel and Abigail's toddler daughter Abigail. Her brother Samuel, not yet born at the time of her death, reported that his sister "died in infancy of a scald." At the time of the accident, thirty-two year old Israel and his wife Abigail had four children: Nathan, seven; Anna, five; Abel, three; and Abigail, sixteen months.^[211]

Israel in 1741 sold "the northeastern half of my farm to Honored father, John Woodward, in consideration of many bountiful gifts." Two years later and after his father's death, in 1743, Israel's sister and brother-in-law, John and Experience (Woodward) Dewey, quitclaimed to him "all the land our Honored father, John Woodward died seized of."^[212]

²⁰⁷ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1833](#), [2].

²⁰⁸ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December](#), [1].

²⁰⁹ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December](#), [3].

²¹⁰ [Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"](#) 34.

²¹¹ [Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"](#) 37. See also [Samuel Woodward Letter 1814](#), [1]. See also [Connecticut Photographs 2014](#), Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Trumbull Cemetery, Lebanon, Connecticut, 5 June 2014. See also [Find A Grave](#), Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Karen Carlini and Sara (last name not provided), Old Cemetery (Trumbull Cemetery), Lebanon, Connecticut, 11 September 2010, 11 May 2014, Find A Grave Memorial 46184889, John Beckstein, 31 December 2009. See also [Barbour Collection Vital Records](#), 22:233, citing Lebanon vital records, 1:330 (which lists Abigail's death date as 31 December).

²¹² [Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"](#) 34, 35. Woodward and Woodward's claim that Israel was "born at Lebanon Crank" is unfounded, and is perhaps a confusion with other Woodward descendants named Israel. See [Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"](#) 53–54. The birthplaces of Israel's children suggest that he did not reside in Columbia (or "Lebanon Crank") before he was an adult. [Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"](#) 55–59, gives "Lebanon" as the birthplace of Israel's

Also in 1743, Israel purchased land in the “Lebanon Crank,” the northern section of Lebanon that would become Columbia, from John, Thomas, and Timothy Hutchinson for 273 pounds, 16 shillings.^[213] His son Samuel further described his father:

being a man of a humorous turn fond of company & deficient in oconemy, got into debt sold his Stand in town & removed to a place then called the Crank now Columbia how long he lived in each of these places I do not know my brothers & sisters were all born in Lebanon he must have lived in that town about 17 years after marriage^[214]

In 1748 Israel and his family moved from Lebanon to the part of Waterbury, Connecticut, that would later become Watertown.^[215] A purchase of land Israel made in October 1748 describes him as “Late of Lebanon now of Waterbury.”^[216] His son Samuel described Israel’s move:

he then removed to Watertown where I was born, I conclude he had now but little property, he purchased about 50 acres of land & built a small house which he pretty soon sold I suppose to get money to pay for the place in this house I was born. he now hired a house for a time, & then removed to the farm where my brothers John & Asa lived, there he ended his days, he first lived in a log house with only one room with his family of nine children, he soon built a comfortable house the farm contained about 50 acres only, the family were poor but never wanted the necessaries of life.^[217]

In May 1749 Israel was commissioned an ensign in the militia.^[218] Later he served in the French and Indian War, according to his son Samuel who was a young child at the time:

In the old french war 1755 my father commanded a company at the northward^[219]

Israel’s service occurred between 26 March and 5 December 1756 rather than in 1755. During that time the forty-eight year old commanded seventy-six soldiers in the Sixth Company of Colonel David Wooster’s Second Connecticut Regiment in an expedition against the French fort at Crown Point on Lake Champlain.^[220] One of the soldiers

children born 1732 to 1744, “Columbia” as the birthplace of his children born 1746 to 1748, and “Watertown” as the birthplace of his child born 1750, making it clear that Israel resided on the Lebanon green until moving to “Lebanon Crank” soon after buying property there.

²¹³ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 35.

²¹⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]–[2].

²¹⁵ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 791. See also Bouley, *Pioneer Settlers*, 586.

²¹⁶ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 35.

²¹⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [2]. The remains of Israel’s log house were still visible on the farm of descendant Lucius Woodward in 1872. See Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 35.

²¹⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 35.

²¹⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [3].

²²⁰ *Rolls of Connecticut Men in the French and Indian War, 1755–1762*, two volumes, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 9–10 (Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut Historical Society, 1903–

under Israel's command was his son Nathan who served as company clerk.^[221] The company never received orders to advance, however, and Israel and his soldiers spent the summer encamped at Albany, New York, before returning home in late fall.^[222]

Connecticut records indicate that a Native American woman belonging to Israel died on 11 July 1774.^[223]

Until he was past ninety years of age Israel was said to frequently ride on horseback eighteen miles to the home of one of his children and return the next day the same way.^[224] Eventually Israel and Abigail moved in with their sons:

in his advanced age he was burdened with debts & my two brothers John & Asa took a conveyance of his property, paid his debts & supported him untill an old man, then thinking they had paid dear for the property, the whole of the children who were able combined & supported our parents we were so tender of their feelings that we did it a number of years without their knowledge.^[225]

In his elder years Israel suffered from "a morbid state of the urinary organs," his son Samuel reported:^[226]

My father was a strong athletic man, died at 92 with a short fit of fever after laboring for a great number of years under the operation of nephritic complaints Hematuria^[227] &c.—^[228]

1905), 1:119–121. See also Anderson, *City of Waterbury*, 1:392–393. See also Bouley, *Pioneer Settlers*, 586–587.

²²¹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 55. *Rolls of Connecticut Men in the French and Indian War, 1755–1762*, two volumes, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 9–10 (Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut Historical Society, 1903–1905), 1:119–121. Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 56, states that Israel's son Abel also served in the Sixth Company, but his name does not appear on the company roster.

²²² Henry C. Deming, "Oration," in "Mason-Heroes of the Revolution," *Masonic Review* 12 (October 1854): 17. See also Theodore Dwight Jr., *The History of Connecticut from the First Settlement to the Present Time* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1840), 291–293. There is no known evidence to support a statement that Israel "was at Fort Edward, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point." See Cutter, *New England Families*, 2:1055.

²²³ Anderson, *City of Waterbury*, 1:156 of separately paginated appendix.

²²⁴ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 35.

²²⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [2].

²²⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [16].

²²⁷ Blood in the urine.

²²⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1814, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [2].

Israel died on 16 August 1799.^[229] A Watertown resident noted next to his death record that he was “with age, aged 92 yrs & 2 months.”^[230] An obituary announced his death, citing what was perhaps a burial date rather than a date of death:

DIED—At Watertown, on the 18th inst. Capt. Israel Woodward, aged 93— He has left a widow aged 92, with whom he lived 72 years, and a numerous progeny to the fifth generation.^[231]

Abigail died on 26 December 1803.^[232] A town resident noted next to her death record, “Consumption,^[233] 95.”^[234] All but one of her children lived to attend her funeral, the eldest being seventy-one and the youngest fifty-three.^[235] Israel and Abigail’s gravestone displays the following epitaph:

Capt. Israel Woodward died August 16th AD 1799 aged 92 Mrs. Abigail wife of Capt. Israel Woodward died Dec. 26th AD 1803 aged 95^[236]

Writing in 1833, three decades after Israel’s death, Samuel said his father then had more than a hundred descendants:

We belonging to the name you will see have done our full share in peopling this earth—^[237]

²²⁹ Connecticut Photographs 2014, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Old Burying Ground, Watertown, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Gary Boughton, Old Watertown Cemetery (Old Burying Ground), Watertown, Connecticut, 14 May 2010, Find A Grave Memorial 24297747, Jan Franco, 31 January 2008. See also Barbour Collection Vital Records, 49:235, citing Watertown vital records, 152. Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 37, lists a death date of 17 August 1799, while the obituary cited below lists 18 August.

²³⁰ Katharine A. Prichard, editor, *Ancient Burying-Grounds of the Town of Waterbury, Connecticut, Together with Other Records of Church and Town*, Publications of the Mattatuck Historical Society 2 ([Waterbury, Connecticut]: Mattatuck Historical Society, 1917), 243.

²³¹ “Died,” Hartford, Connecticut, *Connecticut Courant*, 2 September 1799, 2.

²³² Connecticut Photographs 2014, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Old Burying Ground, Watertown, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Gary Boughton, Old Watertown Cemetery (Old Burying Ground), Watertown, Connecticut, 14 May 2010, Find A Grave Memorial 24297747, Jan Franco, 31 January 2008. See also Barbour Collection Vital Records, 49:234, citing Watertown vital records, 152.

²³³ Tuberculosis.

²³⁴ Katharine A. Prichard, editor, *Ancient Burying-Grounds of the Town of Waterbury, Connecticut, Together with Other Records of Church and Town*, Publications of the Mattatuck Historical Society 2 ([Waterbury, Connecticut], Mattatuck Historical Society, 1917), 246.

²³⁵ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 37.

²³⁶ Connecticut Photographs 2014, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Old Burying Ground, Watertown, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Israel and Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Gary Boughton, Old Watertown Cemetery (Old Burying Ground), Watertown, Connecticut, 14 May 2010, Find A Grave Memorial 24297747, Jan Franco, 31 January 2008.

²³⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [3].

The longevity of Israel, Abigail, and their children would long fascinate their descendants and the public. Seventy-five years after Israel's death, in 1874, the following item appeared in a Connecticut newspaper:

Israel Woodward, late of Watertown, Litchfield county, Conn., died at the age of 93; his wife at 95; his son Matthew at 92; Abel at 85; John 86; Asa 82; Israel at 75; Elijah at 29 [92]; Samuel at 85; his daughter Anna at 88; Eunice at 78, making their entire ages 951 years, being an average of 86 1/2 years.^[238]

Children of Israel and Abigail (Beard) Woodward:^[239]

- i. NATHAN⁵ WOODWARD, born 14 May 1732; married (1) SARAH HICKOX, (2) EUNICE PAINTER.
- ii. ANNA WOODWARD, born 4 January 1733/34; married WAIT SCOTT. A cousin later recalled Anna in old age: "In my boyhood, I well remember her yearly visits at my father's house, though more than eighty years of age, her bright and sparkling eyes, her elastic step, her black satin bonnet, red cloak, gold beads around her neck, and high-heeled shoes. She always carried with her, on these visits, a linen bag well filled with gold and silver coins."^[240]
- iii. ABEL WOODWARD, born 1 April 1736; married LUCY ATWOOD.
- iv. ABIGAIL WOODWARD, born 22 August 1738; died 30 December 1739.^[241]
- v. ISRAEL WOODWARD, born 30 March 1740; married ABIGAIL STODDARD.
- vi. JOHN WOODWARD, born 22 March 17[41/]42; married LYDIA TROWBRIDGE.
- vii. ASA WOODWARD, born 10 February 1743/44; m ESTHER ROBERTS.
- viii. EUNICE WOODWARD, born 5 June 1746; married ASA CURTISS.
- ix. ELIJAH WOODWARD, born 10 June 1748; married MARGERY (HICKOX) RICHARDS.
- x. SAMUEL WOODWARD, born 28 October 1750; married MARY "POLLY" GRISWOLD.

²³⁸ "News of the State," *Hartford [Connecticut] Daily Courant*, 18 April 1874, 4. Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 38, notes the longevity of the family as well.

²³⁹ Barbour Collection Vital Records, 22:233–234, 49:407, citing Lebanon vital records, 1:330, and Waterbury vital records, 1:381. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 37–38, 55–77. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [1]–[2]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1814, [1].

²⁴⁰ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 55.

²⁴¹ Connecticut Photographs 2014, Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Trumbull Cemetery, Lebanon, Connecticut, 5 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Abigail Woodward gravestone photographs, Karen Carlini and Sara (last name not provided), Old Cemetery (Trumbull Cemetery), Lebanon, Connecticut, 11 September 2010, 11 May 2014, Find A Grave Memorial 46184889, John Beckstein, 31 December 2009. See also Barbour Collection Vital Records, 22:233, citing Lebanon vital records, 1:330.

Samuel Woodward

1750–1835

Watertown, Connecticut
 Woodbury, Connecticut
 Litchfield, Connecticut
 Middlebury, Connecticut
 Waterbury, Connecticut
 Plymouth, Connecticut
 New Haven, Connecticut
 Glastonbury, Connecticut
 Washington, Connecticut
 Torrington, Connecticut

7. SAMUEL⁵ WOODWARD (*Israel*⁴, *John Jr.*³, *John Sr.*², *Henry*¹, *John*^A, *Robert*^B) was born on 28 October 1750 in the part of Waterbury that would become Watertown, Connecticut.^[242] He died on 26 January 1835 in Torrington, Connecticut.^[243] Samuel married MARY “POLLY” GRISWOLD on 10 February 1782 in Torrington. Mary was born on 17 July 1757, the daughter of Shubael and Abigail (Stanley) Griswold of Torrington.^[244]

Samuel recalled his childhood in an autobiographical essay he wrote at the age of seventy-eight:

I Samuel Woodward was born in Watertown in Litchfield county in Connecticut on the 28th: of October O.S.^[245] 1750—age of my father 44 my mother 42 when I was born being the youngest of ten children of Israel & Abigail Woodward 9 of which children lived to advanced age—Seven sons & two daughters.^[246]

being the youngest of a large family & of a feeble make was nursed with a peculiar care, one of the first objects of my memory, my mother coming home from meeting

²⁴² Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1]. See also *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 49:407, citing Waterbury vital records, 1:381. Samuel’s marriage record in the Torrington vital records, *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9, gives his birth as 8 November 1750 at Watertown, but that surely reflects an anachronistic attempt to adjust the date to account for the eleven-day gap between Old Style and New Style dates.

²⁴³ *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, Torrington Cemetery, Torrington, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also *Find A Grave*, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, P. Welch, Torrington Cemetery, Torrington, Connecticut, 1 December 2013, Find A Grave Memorial 98295278, Allison Ferris Pierce, 4 October 2012. See also *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9. See also *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 80–81, 85.

²⁴⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [9]–[10]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1833, [2]. See also Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [1]. See also *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 80. See also *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:26, 65, citing Torrington vital records, 9. See also Henry Reed Stiles, *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut*, two volumes (New York: Grafton Press, 1904), 2:663.

²⁴⁵ Old Style.

²⁴⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1].

on sunday took me into a private room & gave me her breast, I was so old as to be ashamed to be nursed before company, during my infantile state all the attention due to a darling child was bestowed on me, & after I had arrived to the age of youth, my mother seemed to consider me an infant & treated me as such—^[247]

As a child Samuel attended school with his siblings in Watertown:

the family resided 1 1/2 miles from the centre of any school district, all the schooling they had was about 8 or 10 weeks in the winter, all that was taught in the schools were reading spelling & writing the only books used were the spelling book & bible. The family with the exception of Asa were apt to learn 4 became schoolmasters. were all good readers & wrote a decent hand.^[248]

During youth I was employed like others of my age in agricultural pursuits, was always inclined to read & study but living at the distance of one mile & half from the centre of a school district my chance for schooling was but very ordinary. I have no recollection of attending school in summer, nor of spelling my words before being able to read. I conclude I was instructed at home during the time that children pass the first grade of school education. The district schools were miserable indeed, they were not kept more than ten or twelve weeks in the year, the instructors were totally incompetent to give due instruction, reading, spelling, & writing were all that was taught, & the spelling book & bible the only books used^[249]

My parents lived in a secluded place at a distance from neighbours. I had but little opportunity to associate with other boys & should have spent my leisure time in reading if I had books but my parents kept no library but a bible & perhaps a sermon book, being totally destitute of such books as contain subjects diverting to children, I spent my leisure hours at play with my older brothers, shooting with my bow & arrow, & occasionally reading such books as I could obtain I was for several seasons the forwardest scholar in such schools as were in use, when we wrote for places my time was always number 1. we frequently choose sides for spelling those that choose me always were conquerors— I could spell more words than all the others in school— Living in a secluded situation I had but little opportunity to associate with others & was emphatically a home bashful boy.^[250]

Samuel listed the occupations of his brothers and himself, including himself as a shoemaker:

Nathan was a cooper, Israel, a tanner & shoemaker, John a weaver, & Elijah a Joiner, Sam a Shoemaker, Abel & Asa had no trade. Israel continued his mechanical business till advanced stage of life & made a handsome profit by it, the others soon relinquished their trade & became farmers. My two oldest brothers were poor, Israel, had & left a handsome property John & Asa were farmers on rather a small scale. rather gaining property until age disenabled them. Elijah once possessed a handsome property, but

²⁴⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1].

²⁴⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [3].

²⁴⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [1].

²⁵⁰ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [2].

he raised but one son, & spoiled him by puting him into marcantile business in which business he failed again & again & his father assisted him till he nearly ruined himself.^[251]

In 1766 or 1767 Samuel began an apprenticeship with his brother Israel:

When about 16 years old I went to live with my brother Israel, to learn the tanner's & shoemakers trade. They were beginning to live & carry on business, were in low circumstances very industrious & economical, lived poor & worked hard, the great object which they pursued was property. If I had been in state prison during the 5 years I lived with my brother I should have had about as good a chance for an education, aside from the trade, as I had there, I had neither books nor time to read them. days & evenings were devoted to labour. during this time I associated with nobody served out my time faithfully & was at 21 year old a bashful boy being very small of my age, had neither the size nor any of the characteristicks of a man.^[252]

In the autumn of 1771 the apprenticeship ended:

Being 21 year old in the fall a got me a few tools & went to Woodbury & there worked through the winter as a Journeyman for John Abernethy.^[253] he was poor & did not live nor pay well I left him & went home to my father & worked on the farm some part of the next summer, in the fall hired myself out to Alexander McNeal of Litchfield.^[254] staid two or three months he would not pay any thing but shoe. I left him & went to Middlebury, hired myself out to one Bronson. they being in want of a schoolmaster I en[gage]d for six dollars a month & my board, I now had some time to gratify my inclination, spent my evenings reading, had not yet got weaned from home, went to my fathers saturday nights 4 miles & returned to my school monday mornings—^[255]

continued in this way through the winter, the next spring my brother Israel had a sever turn of sickness I lived with him during the time & managed his business. I had before perceived that working at shoes especially in warm weather disagreed with my health. I labored at my trade some, read some during this summer & became more established that I could not work at the trade I became blooted & so sore at my stomach that I could not bear my waistcoat buttoned, a liver affection was manifestly commencing, I was determined to relinquish the business, I never liked the trade what to do I did not know. when winter arrived, I was offered the school that I taught the winter before at Middlebury I engaged & continued through the winter I think I had 8 dollars month this winter, I had now become so much of a man & so well acquainted with mankind that I did not go home this winter— In the spring the trying time commenced. what to do I did not know^[256]

²⁵¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December, [3]–[4].

²⁵² Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [2].

²⁵³ John Abernethy married Lucy Washborn in Woodbury on 17 June 1762. See *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 53:121, citing Woodbury vital records, 1:82.

²⁵⁴ Alexander McNeile married Deborah Phelps in Litchfield on 28 October 1747. See *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 23:146, citing Litchfield vital records, 1:107.

²⁵⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [2]–[3].

²⁵⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [3].

That year, 1774, Samuel began to consider a career as a doctor:

I hated my trade & was convinced that my health would not permit me to pursue it. I loved my books dearly. & agreed to study physic was recommended by Doctr Perry^[257] to commence my study with Doctr Beardsley of Waterbury^[258] & if I was a mind to compleat my study with him he knew nothing but I could. Beardsley was a young man & a theorist in the profession. I called upon Doct Beardsley accordingly, he advised me to study latin before commencing the study of physic I went to Plymouth, Parson Storrs of Plymouth^[259] had students, & engaged to instruct me, this was the spring after I was twenty three years old— At this late date I commenced the study of latin & boarded at Capt Evens's who kept a publick house in the centre of the town & was for me, a bashfull country boy, a good place he had two or three daughters of a proper age who felt rather above the common level, had high notions of Scholars,^[260] I was before this of all the creatures that inhabited the earth, sea, or air the fraidest of a girl. this in some measure broke me, so that I could speak to a girl without a pareletic tremor.^[261]

I will relate one circumstance attending my studying at Plymouth a little singular. I studied there one summer the next winter taught school as I was obliged to support myself as I progressed. after my school I boarded at parson Storr's, Miss Storrs, had mighty notions of government; the students who lived there were perfectly under her tuition, & dare not go out nights. or do any thing to displease the old woman.^[262] it happened so that I was gone & in fact was at Even's one night, there come some clergyman there who was going to Watertown the old woman filled his can full of reports about me that I was out nights kept bad company &c. about this time the young people used to meet in the meeting hous sunday noons & sing. Parson Storrs & his wife opposed it. I went however they intimated to me if I attended that singing meeting I would not live there, I consequently quit boarding & went to Evan's to board, by this time information had got to my friends at Watertown about my keeping bad company, up comes my brother to see about it, was surprized at the information & came to

²⁵⁷ Dr. Joseph Perry (1727–1793) practiced in Woodbury from 1750 to 1790. See William Cothren, *History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut, from the First Indian Deed in 1659 to 1854*, three volumes (Waterbury, Connecticut: Bronson Brothers, 1854–1879), 1:392.

²⁵⁸ Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley (1746–1791) practiced in Waterbury from 1773 to 1779. See Anderson, *City of Waterbury*, 3:875–876.

²⁵⁹ Rev. Andrew Storrs (1735–1785) was Waterbury parson from 1765 to 1785. See Dexter, *Graduates of Yale*, 2:677–678.

²⁶⁰ Randall Evans (1727–1778) and his wife Phebe (Warner) Evans (1732–1778) of Plymouth, Connecticut, had daughters Lucy (age nineteen in the spring of 1774), Rosette (fifteen), Mary (twelve), and Chloe (ten). See “Luce Evans” birth record, 2 March 1755, Waterbury, Connecticut; via “Connecticut Births and Christenings, 1649–1906,” FamilySearch.org. See also “Rossettee Evans” birth record, 15 March 1759, Waterbury, Connecticut; via “Connecticut Births and Christenings, 1649–1906,” FamilySearch.org. See also “Mary Evans” birth record, 8 June 1761, Waterbury, Connecticut; via “Connecticut Births and Christenings, 1649–1906,” FamilySearch.org. See also “Cloe Evans” birth record, 2 December 1763, Waterbury, Connecticut; via “Connecticut Births and Christenings, 1649–1906,” FamilySearch.org. See also message board posting, R. D. Calhoun-Eagan, “Large Evans family, Hinsdale NH,” 22 November 2007, Cheshire, New Hampshire, message board, Ancestry.com.

²⁶¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [3].

²⁶² Abiah (Burbank) Leavitt Storrs (circa 1732–1806) married Andrew Storrs in 1762 after the death of her first husband, Rev. Freegrace Leavitt of Somers, Connecticut. See Dexter, *Graduates of Yale*, 2:677–678.

Evan's & made known his errand, that I was accused by Miss Storrs of keeping bad company they knew that the bad company was their daughter this raised a breeze at once. Parson Storrs was a worthy man but the old woman was ugly enough. I was determined not to submit to her jurisdiction. the old man had lost the languages in measure so that I could at this time teach him as much as he would teach me, there was a student with him by name Cook^[263] he could not get a lesson alone but had memory I used to construe to him, then he could recite to Storrs after this breeze I did not recite to Storrs & Cook likewise left Storrs & recited to me & paid me for tuition & we entered college together in the next fall— It will be noticed that I commenced the study of latin to introduce me to the study of medicine. I found upon trial that study was very pleasing & that I progressed much faster than the other students at parson Storrs.^[264]

Samuel entered Yale College in New Haven in the fall of 1776 at the age of twenty-six:^[265]

agreed to try to get along with the expenses college as well as I could, there are certain services rendered by students that are advanced in life & poor such as attending the buttery a sort of grocery store kept for the students ringing the bell & the like which it was thought I could get if I choose, I did one quarter do the duty of butlers service but it hindered me too much I did not continue it. I had no defined object in entering college but to be a scholar, & always thought & often said if I had possessed funds to defray the expences of support I would have been an author rather than a professional man— my talents for composition, I & others considered above mediocrity. I resided in College one year. My funds became exhausted, the next winter I entered a school, & that procured funds for another term, the next spring college broke up & my class removed to Glastonbury I attended that term boarded with Joseph Mosely father to Doctr Moseley.^[266] College was now in an unsettled state, those privileges which existed at New Haven could not be obtained in other towns, my funds became exhausted it was in the revolutionary war.^[267]

Samuel's son Samuel Bayard Woodward later marveled at the persistence that led his father to Yale:

By great economy and untiring industry he was enabled to prepare himself to enter Yale College which he did at the age of 26—Sept 1776 at the time when the difficulty

²⁶³ Justus Cook graduated in the Yale class of 1779. See *Anderson, City of Waterbury*, 1:163 of separately paginated appendix.

²⁶⁴ *Samuel Woodward Letter 1829*, [3]–[5].

²⁶⁵ *Bouley, Pioneer Settlers*, 587.

²⁶⁶ Joseph Moseley (1735–1806) ran a Glastonbury inn and was father of Dr. Abner Moseley (Yale, 1786). The inn building in which Samuel boarded still stands at 1803 Main Street in Glastonbury. See Cuyler Reynolds, *Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs*, four volumes (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1911), 1:90. See also *Dexter, Graduates of Yale*, 4:499–500. See also *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Joseph Moseley house and explanatory plaque photographs, 1803 Main Street, Glastonbury, Connecticut, 5 June 2014. See also historic building profile, Daniel Sterner, “The Joseph Moseley House (1735),” 26 December 2008, in “Historic Buildings of Connecticut,” *HistoricBuildingsCT.com*.

²⁶⁷ *Samuel Woodward Letter 1829*, [5].

between the colonies and the Mother Country had repined into war and America h[ad] declared herself independent. The expenses of education at that period Altho nominally small were in fact very heavy and it is considered no small Merit for a young Man to accumulate sufficient to enable him to obtain a liberal education when the wages of the teacher did not exceed forty Shillings a Month and books were very high priced and scarce.^[268]

While in college in New Haven, Samuel Bayard Woodward reported, his father took part in militia activity:

In the revolutionary Struggle he was pursuing his Studies yet he Stepped forth and lent his voluntary aid to repel the enemy of his country in his incursions to his native State While in college he volunteered for the defence of New Haven and afterwards as Surgeon he joined the Volunteers who assembled to repel the foe—from Danbury, Norwalk, and other towns in the County of Fairfield.^[269]

He was a Member of College at the time of the attack upon New Haven by the British Troops and was one of the Students who Volunteered to erect the temporary works of defence and repel the enemy in his attempt upon the City.^[270]

²⁶⁸ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 77–78.

²⁶⁹ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 84.

²⁷⁰ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 78. Part of Samuel Bayard's statement about his father's militia service during the Revolution is misleading. Samuel, who notably makes no mention of military service in his own writings, was resident in New Haven as a Yale student only from September 1776 to the summer of 1777. The only military activity that took place in the area during that period occurred from 25 to 27 April 1777 when a British raiding party under Gen. William Tryon attacked Danbury and Ridgefield in Fairfield County. The attack prompted New Haven to construct defenses described as "earthworks at the head of Bridge St., on Beacon Hill, at the West River and at Black Rock," and those are presumably the "temporary works" that Samuel helped build. Despite Samuel Bayard's statement that his father "was a member of College at the time of the attack upon New Haven by the British troops," Samuel was likely not present two years later at Gen. Tryon's famous sacking of New Haven on 5 and 6 July 1779, during which Yale students and teachers took up arms and suffered casualties. Samuel's own autobiographical account, quoted below, states that by the middle of 1779 he had withdrawn from Yale and was teaching school and studying medicine thirty miles away in Watertown. Thus Samuel Bayard's implication that his father had an active part in repelling a British attack on New Haven is an overstatement. There is no reason to doubt Samuel Bayard's assertion that his father had a role in the aftermath, however. After the British left New Haven in the summer of 1779, they attacked Fairfield and Norwalk, and it is in the wake of those engagements that Samuel apparently traveled to the scene as a field doctor. See Frederic Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1913), 225–226, 230–232. See also Charles Hervey Townshend, *The British Invasion of New Haven, Connecticut* (New Haven, Connecticut: [Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor], 1879), 73–77. In the published version of Samuel's obituary, Samuel Bayard modified his description of his father's service, adding that Samuel was "never called into actual service during the war" and that his voluntary duties in New Haven and Fairfield were "the only service he personally saw." See *Samuel Woodward Obituary Published*, 649. Given the biographical information provided by Samuel and his son, an 1897 statement by Henry Whittmore that Samuel was the Samuel Woodward who fought at Germantown in Capt. Brigham's company of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment in 1777 is surely erroneous. See Henry Whittmore, *The Heroes of the American Revolution and Their Descendants: Battle of Long Island* (New York: Heroes of the Revolution Publishing Company, 1897), 154. The Germantown Samuel Woodward was likely Samuel's first cousin once removed, Samuel Woodward of Lebanon (born 1735). *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants" compounds Whittmore's

On 15 July 1778 Yale President Ezra Stiles listed “Sam^l Woodward—Waterbury” in the junior class.^[271] Samuel reported, however, that a lack of funds forced him to leave college without a degree. He was nevertheless determined to continue to pursue a professional career. He considered becoming a minister, but decided that the work of a cleric did not interest him:

I had learned how ministers were made & having some scruples about the truth of some of their doctrines I was determined not to adopt that profession.^[272]

Samuel’s son expanded upon his father’s spiritual beliefs:

In his religious opinions he would in Massachusetts have been called Unitarian. He had an exalted idea of the Wisdom Power and righteousness of the Deity, And like Franklin full perfect confidence in his benevolence and—leniency; It was his creed “let every one examine for himself.” He was a firm believer in Moral Virtue as the basis of happiness here and hereafter—^[273]

Having rejected the pursuit of a clerical career, Samuel viewed his next step as a choice between medicine and law:

There is no way but to be a Lawyer or a physician being of a philosophic turn, I thought my talents were better adapted to the profession of medicine than law & another reason, the want of funds, the profession of medicine was attainable with less expence than Law. Necessity obliged me to leave college, & the same necessity compelled me to adopt the profession of medicine or to labour for a livelihood. Respecting my character as a scholar I believe I can say without boasting it was above mediocrity, a prize in books were offered to the class for the best composition in latin, the prize was divided between me & another, the class had but one exhibition while I attend[ed.] I was appointed poetical orator, There was none could be considered in competition with me in writing poetry. I got some enemies in the class by satyrizing them in poetry they being sensible they could not retaliate in the same form. I carried my composition to my tutor, he enquired how long I was writing it I told him one day he replied you write poetry very easy.^[274]

There were other reasons which had their weight to induce me to leave college it was at the time of the revolutionary war, the country were much distressed, the encouragement for the profession of Divinity & Law were at a low ebb. people would be sick & must have doctors. How long the war would continue & to what state of wretchedness the country would be reduced was then intirely uncertain. My age as well as my poverty was another reason, by teaching school winters, I could defray my expences studying summers. I began with an intention of studying medicine & never intirely

error, attributing the service to Samuel on page 74 and then attributing the same service to Samuel’s cousin on page 78.

²⁷¹ Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College*, edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, three volumes (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1901), 2:285.

²⁷² Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [5].

²⁷³ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 93.

²⁷⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [5]–[6].

relinquished the idea besides many of the branches of science studied in college appeared to me then as they do now, to be of no practical use. I did not feel much inclination to expend that time in pouring over greek authors & those sort among the higher branches of mathematics which my age & circumstances demanded to be spent in obtaining a profession by which I could obtain a livelihood—^[275]

The next winter after I left college I undertook a school in Watertown in what was called the Gurnsey district, & borrowed books & began the study of medicine, the war still continued & scarce any books were at this early age printed in the United States. in the spring I continued my study alone it was difficult to procure board, paper money was constantly depreciating, & had become very poor, nobody knew how to set a price for nobody could calculate the future Value of the paper currency in circulation it was made a legal tendry for debts, credit consequently was difficult to be obtained. it was my misfortune to commence my education at the time when the currency of the country began to depreciate I had a little property but lost the main by this paper currency.^[276]

Currency depreciation was indeed a debilitating problem for a student, according to Samuel Bayard Woodward, who recalled seeing evidence of it in a book he saw in his father's study:

I recollect in one of his books which was in his library in my childhood it was written on the blank leaves “cost 12 shillings which was paid for in Continental Money 40 for 1—[”] This not only shows the difficulties respecting funds but also the price and Value of books—which were indispensible— a small octavo Volume cost a young student the earnings of two months teaching.^[277]

Samuel Bayard wrote that when his father finished his medical education he had “accumulated a debt of about Two hundred and Fifty Dollars, a formidable sum for that period.”^[278] Owing a large sum of money apparently had a lifelong impact on his father, Samuel Bayard said:

He had a great aversion to debt himself and for many years before his death he did not owe one dollar to any person— In his advice to the young he was careful to admonish them to keep clear of debt—and to dispense with what was not absolutely necessary till they were able to pay for it.^[279]

Samuel himself wrote that the next step in his medical career was to work as an apprentice to a physician, which he did in Washington, Connecticut:

I continued the study for 3 or 4 months alone borrowing books, the latter part of summer. I was employed in the school where I taught—& continued in the school through

²⁷⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [6].

²⁷⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [7].

²⁷⁷ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 79.

²⁷⁸ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 80.

²⁷⁹ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 91.

the winter in the spring following I went to Washington & there studied with Doctr Sheldon^[280] & Hastings,^[281] Sheldon was about my age but began to practice early he began business before the war & had a tolerable good library I continued with them through the summer & fall about 6 or 7 months this was all the time I spent with a physian before I commenced practice The ensuing winter I returned to the same old district & taught a school & did a little practice in the district. in the spring following a man gave me my board to instruct his own children untill the roads became fit for travelling I then commenced looking for a place to settle made one tour into york state, hearing there was a vacancy in a parish in Guilford, I went there & found a young man had got in before me^[282]

saw a man belonging to Torrington I enquired for a vacancy he mentioned Toringford I made a Journey up here & found Toringford destitute of a physician a Doctr Day died there the fall before^[283] The place did not appear very inviting but it was a vacancy, I concluded I should have some business & my situation was such that it was necessary I should be in business for a support, my funds would not allow me to go into an old town & wait a year for employ. On the 14 day of July 1780 I arrived in Toringford very soon had the business of the parish— took two or three scholars to instruct in latin, & in the winter following taught a district school. Visited my patients evenings was flattered & encouraged in every way I had any reason to expect. The physicians in the vicinity were not distinguished for medical eminence. I made one or two tours afterwards but did not find any place that suited me better than Toringford. It was new for the parish to have a phyn. settle among them.^[284]

Soon after Samuel arrived in Toringford, he began a courtship of Mary “Polly” Griswold that ended in marriage on 10 February 1782 when he was age thirty-one.^[285] An earlier connection with another woman in Watertown, he explained, had not been successful:

There is nothing in the course of human life which contributes more to happiness or misery than matrimony I will consequently devote a page to that subject— When I taught school the three winters in Watertown I made frequent Invisits to a young woman, she was of a delicate make rather handsome, in feeble health, pleasant, good natured but her abilities were not of the first order. during the time her father met with a wound a fractured skull, I was a student in physic the family engaged me to live at the house to dress ~~this girl~~ the wound. this gave me an oportunity to test the real worth of the young woman I had visited & I found her intirely destitute of those qualifications which I considered requisite for a good housekeeper. I had carried my visits so far as I acknowledge she had reason to expect a matrimonial alliance al-though no absolute

²⁸⁰ Dr. Daniel Sheldon Jr. was a physician of Washington and Litchfield, Connecticut. See Dexter, *Graduates of Yale*, 2:132.

²⁸¹ Dr. Seth Hastings Sr. (1745–1830) established a practice in Washington immediately after completing his medical studies. See Hermine Weigel Williams, *Thomas Hastings: An Introduction to His Life and Music* (Lincoln, Nebraska: iUniverse, 2005), 5.

²⁸² Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [7]–[8].

²⁸³ Dr. Isaac Day practiced in Toringford until his death on 16 September 1779 at the age of twenty-nine. See Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 154.

²⁸⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [8].

²⁸⁵ Barbour Collection Vital Records, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9.

engagements had taken place. About the time I was about to leave the neighbourhood she opened his [her] mind frankly to me & told me she had another suiter who offered her marriage & remarked that young women were under disadvantages respecting those matters. she preferred me to the other & she wished to know whether I intended to marry her. I certainly respected her for her frankness. I informed her I indeed respected her, but my circumstances were such that a matrimonial alliance at that time would be very inconvenient I was a young physician had to find a stand for my business where that would be & when I should be in a proper situation to support a family I could not tell. I concluded on the whole it would not be best for her to depend on me & if she had another offer that was pleasing I thought she better accept it. & she did.^[286]

Not long after I commenced business in Torrington, Stanley Griswold^[287] was taken violently sick with typhus gravior, when he was taken Shubael Griswold^[288] & Polly^[289] were absent on a visit I attended the sick man, wine was used or directed & I found out that his mother^[290] instead of giving it to the patient used it herself, nothing was done as it ought to be I mentioned to the old gentleman^[291] he had better get a nourse his wife was so cumbered with other business she could not give proper attention to the patient. He immediately sent for his children home, after his daughter arrived, there was an intire revolution in the family the patient was noursed, my prescriptions carried into compleat effect & the patient recovered, in care of sickness in the two families I had an opportunity to observe the contrast between the two girls The one was a little slender delicate handsom person, good natured, & unused to labour or any household affairs, the other a large stout strong girl perfectly acquainted with all such domestic concerns as were necessary in a family & had abundant experience in carrying them into compleat operation, The family of Esq. Griswold's was reputable, as much so as any in the parish, & Polly was the Girl in the village to whom all strangers were introduced; if there was a wedding I was invited to wait on Polly Griswold, if there was a ball, Polly Griswold was put to me. I enquired of some old people in conversation where I could get me a good wife Polly Griswold would be pointed out. All these things took place, & the above contrast was often in my mind, The whole parish seemed to select Polly Griswold for me & we were married the 10th. day of February 1782 one year & seven months after I made a settlement in the society. I boarded with Esq. Griswold the summer after we were married & in the fall hired a room in the house

²⁸⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [9].

²⁸⁷ Stanley Griswold (1763–1815), Samuel's future brother-in-law, graduated from Yale in 1786 and became a pastor, newspaper editor, secretary of the Michigan territory, and a territorial judge of the Illinois territory. See Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 469.

²⁸⁸ Shubael Griswold Jr. was another of Samuel's future brothers-in-law. See Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 708.

²⁸⁹ Mary "Polly" Griswold was Samuel's future wife.

²⁹⁰ Abigail (Stanley) Griswold was Samuel's future mother-in-law.

²⁹¹ Shubael Griswold was Samuel's future father-in-law.

of David Soper^[292] where we lives about two year & I pursued my professional business.^[293]

A year and a half after his marriage, in July 1783, Samuel became involved in local politics by writing what would become an influential essay in opposition to pensions for Revolutionary War officers. The issue arose earlier when George Washington in the midst of war induced his officers to continue fighting without full pay by promising them a pension of half-pay for life. Early in 1783, Congress passed a “commutation act” that gave the officers full pay for five years in lieu of the promised lifetime benefit.^[294] At a Torrington town meeting on 15 July,^[295] Samuel read a statement opposing the act as an undue burden on taxpayers and an unfair favoring of officers over soldiers. The statement was in accord with the sense of the meeting, Samuel said, and it was thus adopted as a general resolve of the town of Torrington:

About this time the war ceased, & there was a great stir about half pay & commutation. many towns had meetings to express their opinion on the subject. I wrote a piece on the subject, & read it in the meeting the town ordered it to be printed as a town resolve. the same piece was published in New york & Philadelphia. soon after I was appointed delegate to a middletown convention & soon after that a representative in Assembly this was in 1783 only 3 years after my arrival in the town—^[296]

The Torrington Resolves were published, without naming Samuel as the author, in the *Hartford Connecticut Courant* on 29 July 1783.^[297] Samuel’s claim of authorship and later published responses that suggest the author was a doctor make it highly likely that the published resolve is the same one that Samuel had read at town meeting.^[298] In it the author argued that taxation to pay for officers’ pensions was little different than British taxation without representation. Officers were generally wealthy and

²⁹² David Soper operated a tavern near Torrington’s first meeting house. See *Orcutt, History of Torrington*, 75. The Soper tavern house still stands at 1347 Torrington Street in Torrington. See National Register of Historic Places registration form, Gregory E. Andrews, Torrington Historic Preservation Trust, West Hartford, Connecticut, “Torrington Street Historic District,” Torrington, Connecticut, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, NPS Form 10-900, 27 June 1991, section 7, page 6, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.; via NPS.gov. See also *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, former David Soper tavern photographs, 1347 Torrington Street, Torrington, Connecticut, 6 June 2014.

²⁹³ *Samuel Woodward Letter 1829*, [9]–[10].

²⁹⁴ William H. Glasson, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1918), 40–47.

²⁹⁵ *Torrington Resolves*, [1].

²⁹⁶ *Samuel Woodward Letter 1829*, [7].

²⁹⁷ *Torrington Resolves*, [1]–[2].

²⁹⁸ Given Samuel’s detailed claim of authorship and responses to it that refer to the author as “Aesculapius” (the Greco-Roman god of medicine), “the medical draughtsman of the Torrington resolves,” and “Quack Gander,” there seems little doubt that Samuel was the author of the published Torrington Resolves. See Brother and Friend [pseudonym], “Mr. Respondent,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 14 October 1783, [2]. See also Vox Populi [pseudonym], “Messieurs Printers,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 21 October 1783, [2]. See also Socrates [pseudonym], “Mess. Printers,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 5 August 1783, [2].

should be paid their wages in full, he argued, but they had no right to expect additional remuneration. He also questioned the right of Congress to approve such payments and used colorful language to call on the people to oppose them:

Can you brook the alarming idea, that the very bread, should be wrested from the hungry mouths of repining infants, and given to support the luxury and extravagance of men already fattened by the treasure of their country? Will you, any longer, open your purses to those ravenous harpies, who perch, with whetted beaks and piercing eyes, watching the most favourable opportunity of preying on the public revenues?

The author argued that the issue was so serious that it threatened the fragile American government and all that was won by the efforts of “a barefoot army, whose very footsteps stained the ground with blood.”

Is it not high time, for that patriotic fire, which has so often blazed forth, to the confusion of our adversaries, now to flash with redoubled violence? Can you see, that stately fabric, which we have raised with so much toil, and placed as a new phenomenon, in the political hemesphere, for want of due support, to burst forth and like a common meteor, to explode in smoke and vapour: And all the glory of an eight years war, in which we have faced death a thousand ways, sink, into shame and ignomy?^[299]

Proponents of the commutation act were quick to respond. On 5 August an anonymous writer to the same newspaper parodied the resolves and those of other Connecticut towns, offering a satirical resolution of “the inhabitants of Geeseburrow” recorded by town clerk “Quack Gander.” Samuel’s authorship of the Torrington Resolves was apparently generally known, and the name of the fictional recorder was perhaps a mocking reference to his profession. The writer of the satirical piece ridiculed the language of

the late publication from Torrington: for it is not every draughtsman, that can make *footsteps bleed, harpies feed on revenues served up to them in open purses, or a fabrick turn into a phaenomenon, and explode in smoke and vapour.*^[300]

Two weeks later on 19 August another writer derided the Torrington statement:

The proclamation of Torrington is perfectly distracted; it does nothing but rave and froth at the mouth.^[301]

Discussion of the resolves continued through the fall. A writer in the *Connecticut Courant* of 21 October wrote in opposition to “the medical draughtsman of the

²⁹⁹ *Torrington Resolves*, [1]–[2].

³⁰⁰ Socrates [pseudonym], “Mess. Printers,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 5 August 1783, [2].

³⁰¹ “To the Inhabitants of the Town of Farmington,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 19 August 1783, [1]–[2].

Torrington resolves” and argued that officers should receive their promised pensions because it is “right to hold people to their contracts.”^[302]

Samuel was elected to the Connecticut General Assembly and served first in October 1783. He was reelected five times between then and 1790 and would serve a final term in 1822 at the age of seventy-one.^[303]

In December 1783, thirty-three year old Samuel attended a convention on the commutation issue at Middletown.^[304] Samuel’s son, Samuel Bayard Woodward, recounted an anecdote of his father’s attendance at the gathering. The recollection makes it clear that while some knew the identity of the author of the Torrington Resolves, Samuel took no pains to make his authorship widely known:

At a large Political Meeting at Middletown attended by some of the most respectable & influential Men of the state, some anonymous articles of his published in the periodicals of the day, were the subject of conversation at the dinner table. After several distinguished gentleman had given great praise to the unknown writer, one gentleman declared with great emphasis—“I would go this night to the utmost boundary of the state to shake hands with the man who wrote these articles—[”] he remained silent and did not disclose the authorship.^[305]

In addition to his work as a political author and physician, Samuel tutored local students in medicine and general subjects. An estimated forty medical students studied in his Torrington office during his career.^[306] A neighbor recalled his work as a teacher:

Dr. Samuel Woodward, of Torrington, was not only a physician of high repute himself, but he was almost literally a father of the faculty.^[307]

Samuel wrote of the students he taught during the early years of his medical practice:

I kept a district school 3 winters in Torrington & taught a class of young people in arithmetic & geography & speaking several Tragedies & Comedies were introduced among the young people at this time & for a great number of years after the young people of Torrington were distinguished for superiour learning & more schoolmasters were formed in that small society by far than in any other part in the vicinity of equal population. After my professional business became so extensive that I could not attend to the instruction several, what is called awakenings, took place & the people of Torrington now may be emphatically called more devout than learned or wise. The

³⁰² Vox Populi [pseudonym], “Messieurs Printers,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 21 October 1783, [2].

³⁰³ *Roll of State Officers*, 37, 47, 51, 52, 68, 71, 244.

³⁰⁴ “Hartford, December 22,” *Norwich [Connecticut] Packet*, 25 December 1783, [3].

³⁰⁵ *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 88–89.

³⁰⁶ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 61.

³⁰⁷ Samuel Church, “Address, Delivered at Litchfield, Conn., on the Occasion of the Centennial Celebration, 1851, by Judge Church,” in *Litchfield County Centennial Celebration, Held at Litchfield, Conn., 13th and 14th of August, 1851* (Hartford, Connecticut: Edwin Hunt, 1851), 62.

infectious disease of enthusiasm has expelled all that love of science for which they were distinguished^[308]

Samuel became well established in Torrington society:

after about two years residence at Soper we removed to John Gillett's^[309] I purchased of him half an acre of land & built a house. My business was constantly increasing gradually I soon took a considerable share of the practice of New Hartford, in Winsted there was no physician for a number of years; the greatest part of the medical business fell upon me, in Winchester their physician had but little confidence in himself & the people had less in him I had frequent calls there, I represented the Town in the legislature for 6 or 7 sessions. & might be said without boasting to be the most popular & the most learned physician in the northeast part of the county—of Litchfield.^[310]

Samuel's family was recorded in the 1790 United States census of Torrington. On 2 August the family consisted of one male sixteen or over (Samuel), four females (Polly, daughters Mary and Laura, and an unknown woman, perhaps a servant), and two boys under sixteen (sons Samuel Bayard and Elijah).^[311]

Soon after Samuel and his family moved to Watertown and lived there two years before returning again to Torrington.^[312] In 1791 he sold his Torrington house and land to Jabez Beardsley and Samuel Durand.^[313] The poor quality of land in Torrington was one reason for the move, Samuel said:

The country was ruff & forbidding I was not pleased with it in Watertown my old home, a district of country though not very pleasant was much superiour to the one in which I resided I had some calls there the physician who did the business there I knew was in real merit much below par. Several of the leading characters of the town invited me there two men offered to give me the use of a house if I would remove & try my fortune I really had so much confidence in myself I though I could take the lead of business there as I had in the part of the country where I resided I was unwise enough to remove to that town. when there I had the business of a few of the best families in town but, the resident Physician was a low vulgar character himself & was popular among that class of people which constitute the population of that town & indeed all other parts of the world, I was pretty soon convinced that I had committed a serious

³⁰⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [10].

³⁰⁹ John Gillett (1738–1826) settled in Torrington in 1761. His son John Gillett Jr. would marry Samuel's daughter Mary in 1824. See Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 701–702.

³¹⁰ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [11].

³¹¹ Samuel Woodward family, [Torrington], Litchfield County, Connecticut, sheet 406, line [19], First Census of the United States, 1790, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *First Census of the United States, 1790*, M637, 12 reels., reel 1; via "1790 United States Federal Census," Ancestry.com. The census pages give no location for the enumerated families and the database claims they were residents of the town of Litchfield, but the presence of longtime Torrington resident Shubael Griswold on the same page as Samuel makes it clear that they were located in the Torrington section of Torrington. The dates cited here and in the census summaries given in the text below are census enumeration dates rather than the dates that census takers visited the homes.

³¹² Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 81.

³¹³ "Dr. Woodward, Pioneer Physician."

error in removing especially to the town where I was born & received my youthful education, & have ever since remarked that it is not best for professional men to settle in their native town.^[314]

While living there the physicians who practiced in the south part of Litchfield county formed themselves into a kind of medical society. Societies of that kind had been formed in Fairfield & New Haven counties & I believe in some other counties in the state. From whom the suggestion was first made I have forgot if I ever knew, but a representation from those societies met in Hartford to form a state medical society I was appointed one of the representatives from that body being one of the younger class of those who attended this honor was quite unexpected, & I conclude it took place from its being known that I had been repeatedly a member of the legislature which was not the case with the other members— Another circumstance I believe had its weight Doct Elton^[315] my antagonist in Watertown was hated by all the physicians in his vicinity. & I ever supposed my appointment was at least in part to encourage me to continue in that stand A constitution of a medical society was formed at this meeting & passed into a law of the state by the legislature.^[316]

Samuel's son, Samuel Bayard Woodward, also recalled his father's role in the creation of the Connecticut Medical Society:

In his profession he was greatly reputed by the public as well as by the faculty He was one of the original promoters of the formation of a State Medical Society and his name was in the first act of incorporation. he was often elected one of the fellows of that Society and at one time was its secretary. He was one of the ablest debaters in that body and took a lead in favor or against all its important measures— He took a firm stand in opposition to the union with Yale College—fearing the influence which that union would have in excluding Meritorious young men from the profession. He was chosen one of the Committee that Met a Committee from the College of which The Venerable Doct Dwight^[317] was a member, to agree upon Articles of union— He was influential in inserting a provision into this compact by which one poor and Meritorious Student Should be admitted to each course gratis from each county in the State. With this provision in the articles of union he withdrew his opposition.^[318]

Despite his success becoming established in the medical field while in Watertown, Samuel reiterated his regret that he and his family moved there:

Notwithstanding my introduction in to the medical convention by being in Watertown I consider it one of the greatest errors of my life— Another reason not mention induced me to remove there, I had in Torrington only half an acre of land, it was difficult

³¹⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [11].

³¹⁵ Dr. John Elton (1755–1800) was a Watertown physician of long standing. Elton's son Samuel (1780–1858) would later assume his father's practice and himself serve Watertown for sixty years. See William Jamieson Pape, *History of Waterbury and the Naugatuck Valley, Connecticut*, three volumes (New York: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), 2:14.

³¹⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [11]–[12].

³¹⁷ Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Yale 1769, was president of Yale from 1795 to 1817. See Moses Coit Tyler, *Three Men of Letters* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895), 72–73.

³¹⁸ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 90.

purchasing & with supplies as were necessary for the support of a family & there was no land to be bought in a situation which would accommodate me. While at Watertown one or two people who own places proper for my business agreed to sell I therefore came back to Torrington & purchased the place where I now reside. My leaving & returning was doubtless a check upon my political career but not to my practice in my professional business, & I was convinced that my attendance on the legislature was a serious damage to my practice I now began to keep students & attend to practice & the cultivation of my little farm which I found to be both convenient & profitable. When I returned from Watertown I was about 43 years old.^[319]

On 1 January 1794 Samuel purchased from Zachariah Mather a fifty-acre tract of land with a 1769 house on the west side of Torrington Street.^[320] The house stood “opposite Elijah Gaylord’s, and little north of the Torrington second meeting house.”^[321]

One of Samuel’s patients was Rev. Thomas Robbins, who recorded a visit to him in his diary. During a stay in Torrington on 25 February 1798, Robbins wrote that a chronic pain in his jaw worsened:

Snowed. Felt something serious. At evening walked up to Dr. Woodward’s.^[322]

Despite a 1799 request by Stanley Griswold that Samuel move his practice to New Milford,^[323] Torrington remained his place of residence for the rest of his life.

The future radical abolitionist John Brown was born in Torrington on 9 May 1800. While no known record shows who delivered Brown, it was likely Samuel.^[324] The era was a transitional period in which both midwives and doctors delivered babies,^[325] but Samuel stated that he “was Physician, Surgeon, Apothecary & Midwife for the parish.”^[326]

The family of Samuel and Polly as constituted on 4 August 1800 was recorded in the United States census of that year. On that date the family included one male forty-five and over (Samuel), one female twenty-six to forty-four (Polly), two females sixteen to twenty-five (daughter Mary and an unknown person, perhaps a servant), two males

³¹⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [12].

³²⁰ “Dr. Woodward, Pioneer Physician.”

³²¹ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 791. Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 61, which probably drew the information from Orcutt, gives the same location but mistakenly identifies Samuel’s neighbor as “Elisha” Gaylord. Woodward and Woodward in 1934 spoke of the house in the past tense, but the house still stands. See Herbert Thoms, *Yale Men and Landmarks in Old Connecticut (1701–1815)* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1967), 290. See also *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Samuel Woodward house and historical plaque photographs, 1683 Torrington Street, Torrington, Connecticut, 6 June 2014.

³²² Thomas Robbins, *Diary of Thomas Robbins, D. D., 1796–1854*, Increase N. Tarbox, editor, two volumes (Boston: Beacon Press, 1886), 1:51.

³²³ Stanley Griswold to Samuel Woodward, 3 July 1799, [1]–[3], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

³²⁴ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 61.

³²⁵ Barnes Riznik, “Medicine in New England 1790–1840,” Old Sturbridge Village Booklet Series 1060 (Sturbridge, Massachusetts: Old Sturbridge Village, 1969), page numbers not provided; via OSV.org.

³²⁶ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [12].

sixteen to twenty-five (unknown, perhaps farmhands), one female ten to fifteen (daughter Laura), two males ten to fifteen (sons Samuel Bayard and Elijah), and four males under ten (sons Griswold, Rufus, Henry, and Charles).^[327] A later account of the life of Rufus described the family as close: “Residing at home, he had the advantage of spending his early years in a family much respected for their good sense and amiable disposition.”^[328]

Samuel and Polly lost a child in the winter of the following year. On 5 December 1801 their fifteen-year old daughter Laura died. The Torrington vital records note her death without stating a cause.^[329]

Samuel’s own physician, Dr. E. D. Hudson, recalled Samuel and his methods during his decades as a Connecticut country doctor:

Doctor Woodward was possessed of a fine physique, vigorous constitution, and great powers of endurance; so much so that he scarcely knew a day’s illness, until a few years before his decease.^[330]

He was a self educated man and physician, always seeking for the light of science in the arts. On the lid of an electric machine^[331] which he gave me as a token of his regard for my attention to his chronic ailments, a copy of prophecy was pasted; viz: “Men shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”^[332]

As a characteristic of Doctor Woodward’s independence of mind power of analysis, and natural resources for special occasions, it may be mentioned, that, at the time when malignant typhoid pneumonia, known as spotted fever, prevailed as an epidemic most fearfully and fatally in Torrington and various parts of New England, and which for a time baffled the most skillful physicians, Dr. Woodward quickly perceived the strange, low and virulent type of the disease and immediately abandoned the routine treatment of pneumonia, and all depleting remedies, and resorted to stimulants, and vigorous supporting remedial agencies, with such signal success as gave to him deservedly an extended reputation.^[333]

An interview with one of Samuel’s neighbors described how an experience with a patient helped Samuel develop his treatment for spotted fever during the 1807 epidemic:

³²⁷ Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 810 (stamped page 199), line [14], Second Census of the United States, 1800, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Second Census of the United States, 1800*, M32, 52 reels, reel 2; via “1800 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

³²⁸ “Memoir of Mr. Rufus Woodward,” *Christian Spectator* 7 (March 1825): 113.

³²⁹ *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9.

³³⁰ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 623–624.

³³¹ In the 1790s physicians treated a wide range of ailments using rotating friction machines that produced mild electric shocks. See Hal Hellman, *Great Feuds in Medicine: Ten of the Liveliest Disputes Ever* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2001), 19–20.

³³² Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 624. The quotation is a paraphrase of the Book of Daniel, 12:4: “But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”

³³³ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 624.

A woman now living [in 1878] says that Dr. Woodward told in her father's house how he learned to treat this disease. A young girl was attacked with the disease; the mother was much frightened and sent for the doctor, but perceiving the girl was cold in her extremities she began to give her brandy, and make hemlock tea, in the effort to get her into a perspiration. When the doctor came the patient was doing so well that he said, "that learned me how to treat spotted fever."^[334]

Samuel described his experience with the disease, later identified as bacterial meningitis,^[335] in an article in the Hartford *American Mercury*. The illness, he said, caused "spots on the skin, the size of half a common turkey-shot" and as the disease progressed patients "became as spotted as an adder." He also described his treatment theories, cautioning against bloodletting and purgatives and recommending the use of alcoholic drinks, even to the point of impairment:

When wine or ardent spirits were given in such quantities as to produce a degree of intoxication, they never appeared to do any injury.^[336]

Hudson recalled a case of a different illness at another time in which Samuel and a formally educated colleague consulted on a patient:

After consultation Dr. Woodward prescribed so peculiarly, as to greatly surprise the young doctor, who asked for his authority for such a prescription. The reply was graphic and summary: "the authority of Samuel Woodward."^[337]

On one occasion, of a bad case of compound fracture of the leg, an eminent surgeon of a neighboring town was sent for; mean time Doctor Woodward, called for the immediate exigency of the case was greatly indignant that any one should suppose him incompetent for the case, and at once assumed the responsibility and put up the limb with such successful results as was highly creditable to his skill as a surgeon.^[338]

Samuel attempted to collect a debt from Simeon Richards on 4 July 1809. On that date he obtained an order from Justice of the Peace Elisha Smith stating that Richards owed him \$11.07 and damages of \$2.09. Constable Russell C. Abernethy reported back on 2 September 1809 that he was unable to locate Richards or any property owned by him within Litchfield County.^[339]

³³⁴ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 624.

³³⁵ Karen L. Roos, Allan R. Tunkel, Diederik van de Beek, W. Michael Scheld, "Acute Bacterial Meningitis," in W. Michael Scheld, Richard J. Whitley, Christina M. Marra, editors, *Infections of the Central Nervous System*, fourth edition (Philadelphia: Wolters Kluwer Health, 2014), 365. The authors quote Samuel Woodward and identify the illness as a form of meningitis called meningococemia.

³³⁶ Elisha North, *A Treatise on a Malignant Epidemic Commonly Called Spotted Fever* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1811), excerpted in Elisha North, "Classics in Infectious Diseases: Concerning the Epidemic of Spotted Fever in New England," *Reviews of Infectious Diseases* 2 (September–October 1980): 813–814.

³³⁷ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 624–625.

³³⁸ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 625.

³³⁹ Debt collection order, Samuel Woodward, plaintiff, Simeon Richards, defendant, Elisha Smith, justice of the peace, with note by Russell C. Abernethy, constable, Litchfield County, Connecticut, 4 July 1809, Woodward file, Torrington Historical Society, Torrington, Connecticut.

From 1800 to 1810 Samuel ran in each election for nomination as a Democratic-Republican Party candidate for the United States House of Representatives and was defeated each time.^[340] In the 1810 contest he received 3,558 votes, approximately half of the total required for nomination.^[341] He participated in local politics as well during his decades in Torrington. At a town meeting he once opposed the construction of a road along the Still River from Winsted to Wolcottville, Connecticut, according to Hudson, because the land along the river was a swamp:

The project was deemed impracticable and utopian, by the inhabitants of the town who regarded the lands wholly unreclaimable. The opposition, headed by Dr. Woodward, raged intensely. In town meeting where it was voted down, he heatedly declared it a “fool-hardy idea, and that if it were built, no living creature could or would travel it save snakes, polecats, woodchucks and foxes.”

A road and eventually a railroad were built along the river, Hudson wrote, and became heavily used in future years.^[342]

The United States census captured a profile of Samuel’s family on 6 August 1810 when he was fifty-nine years old. The family included a man forty-five or over (Samuel), a woman in the same category (Polly), a woman twenty-six to forty-four (daughter Mary), five males sixteen to twenty-five (sons Samuel Bayard, Elijah, Rufus, and Griswold, and an unknown person), one female in the same category (unknown; daughter Laura had died nine years earlier), two boys ten to fifteen (sons Henry and Charles), and a girl in the same category (unknown).^[343]

A letter Samuel wrote to his son on 12 April 1812 provides details of a typical day in his household. In it he notes that in the previous month he earned \$190 and made so many visits on horseback that he “rode down” two horses and was obliged to hire a third.^[344] In the letter he described the activities of his daughter Mary and his five youngest sons:

Elijah is intent on his western expedition for which I am trying to collect a little money. Griswold at work on the farm. Rufus & Henry studying the languages with the addition of Hezekiah Bissell who proposes to study Physic. Mary a making Pancakes for supper. Charles taking care of his lamb. Torrington is about as stationary as the elements or the solar system no changes. no news. except that every thing here is growing old. a few born, a few dies, some moving away. nobody rich & but a few poor— But a little said about politics or what is called religion. party spirit asleep. I do not know the topics now discussed at Battells store or whether there is any particular topic now on the carpet. I never knew a duller time.^[345]

³⁴⁰ Cutter, *New England Families*, 2:1055.

³⁴¹ *New Nation Votes*, Connecticut 1810 U.S. House of Representatives, Nomination.

³⁴² Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 625.

³⁴³ Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 52 (stamped), line [8], Third Census of the United States, 1810, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Third Census of the United States, 1810*, M252, 71 reels, reel 2; via “1810 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

³⁴⁴ Samuel Woodward Letter 1812, [1].

³⁴⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1812, [2].

As Samuel noted, William Battell's Torrington general store was a community gathering place. A local history later cited Battell's refusal to issue credit under any circumstances, even to the local physician:

As illustrative of the careful manner in which he commenced his business transactions at Torrington, it is said that Dr. Woodward went to his store to buy a skillet and Mr. Battell would not trust him, and that the doctor in later life, frequently laughed about it, as quite a joke.^[346]

Samuel's son Samuel Bayard Woodward wrote a New Year's letter to his brothers on 1 January 1813 in which he reflected on his parents' care of the family through the years:

With Parents fond of improvement we have had every advantage that their resources could furnish. Of correct moral habits we have none of us very sensibly swerved from the example that they have held forth for our imitation. Of industrious habits, we have none of us dared to think of a day or an hour spent on idleness. Of the strictest economy we dare not spend a single shilling or dispose of anything valuable without a reason. Such has been our education.^[347]

Samuel ran for a seat on the Connecticut Council of Assistants in October 1815. Though he received 4,044 votes he was not one of the twenty candidates elected to the council.^[348]

In late 1816, Samuel's son Elijah became gravely ill with a lung infection that would prove fatal on 8 January 1817.^[349] Elijah had long been prone to such maladies:

He inherited a constitutional tendency to lung affection, from some source, which disease made sad havoc for many members of Dr. Woodward's family. He was possessed of a fine intellect, and was an accomplished young man; a student with his father, in medicine, and was very promising. He received a license to practice medicine, and assisted his father to some extent, though his health was precarious and threatening. In 1817, when he was twenty-eight years of age, he was violently attacked with haemoptysis,^[350] and tubercular ulceration of his lungs, which proved fatal. It was a

³⁴⁶ *Orcutt, History of Torrington*, 420. A 1991 architectural survey noted that William Battel operated "a market for farmers' produce and a variety of wares" in a house that still stands at 1477 Torrington Street in Torrington. See National Register of Historic Places registration form, Gregory E. Andrews, Torrington Historic Preservation Trust, West Hartford, Connecticut, "Torrington Street Historic District," Torrington, Connecticut, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, NPS Form 10-900, 27 June 1991, section 8, page 1, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.; via NPS.gov. See also *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, former William Battel store photographs, 1477 Torrington Street, Torrington, Connecticut, 6 June 2014.

³⁴⁷ *Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward,"* 23–24, citing "S. B. W. to his brothers, 1813, Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, Vol. II."

³⁴⁸ *New Nation Votes*, Connecticut 1815 Council of Assistants, Nomination.

³⁴⁹ *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9.

³⁵⁰ The coughing up of blood.

sorrowful event to his father, and family, and his numerous, sympathising friends in Torrington.^[351]

Elijah was engaged to Margaret Gaylord at the time of his death.^[352]

At about the same time and probably simultaneous to Elijah's illness, Samuel's older son Samuel Bayard was also seriously ill, though he survived. Samuel Bayard had a fever and refused to eat because in a delirium he thought that there was not enough food to support the inhabitants of earth. Samuel Bayard later told a colleague that his father talked him into taking nourishment:

He said he was induced to take food by a stratagem of his father, who gave him water, saying to him that the Lord had made a great supply of water for all things, which seemed to him reasonable. When it was dark, his father added milk to the water. In this way he was sustained until the delusion passed off.^[353]

In 1818, Samuel sent the following letter to John Alvord of Winsted seeking the payment of an old debt:

Sir: In looking over my old notes, I find one signed, John Alvord, dated Jan., 1808; ten years ago last January. You sir, are one of the philosophers and wise men of the day. I ask if it is not time to pay it. If you conclude it is not, I must be compelled to submit the matter to other wise men. Yours, Sam Woodward

Alvord responded the day he received the letter with an offer to pay.^[354]

During the three decades leading up to the enactment of religious freedoms in the 1818 constitution of the state of Connecticut, dissenters began to challenge the role of the established Congregational Church. In Torrington, Samuel was a leading dissenter:

Of those who withdrew from the support of the Torrington church Dr. Samuel Woodward was the most prominent, but several others were decidedly of the first class of mind. Dr. Woodward was called "infidel," but was as far from rejecting the Bible as anybody in Torrington. Yet he did object with a multitude of others, many of whom did not withdraw from the society, to the fatalism preached in those days as the highest honor to an omnipotent Jehovah, and as a matter settled in theology, which no man had a right to question. Instead of being an infidel, it is stated that he was at one time at least, so exercised in religious things that he was almost incapacitated from the regular performance of his professional duties, and to the close of life manifested the greatest respect for and confidence in true Christian life.^[355]

When the United States census recorded Samuel's family on 7 August 1820, it included five people. A man and a woman forty-five or over (Samuel and Polly), a

³⁵¹ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 629.

³⁵² Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 8-65.

³⁵³ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 120.

³⁵⁴ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 245–246.

³⁵⁵ Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, 532.

woman twenty-six to forty-four (daughter Mary, who would marry in 1824^[356]), a man sixteen to twenty-five (probably son Charles), and a woman in the same category (unknown).^[357]

In 1820, 1821, and 1822, Samuel was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the Connecticut Senate. In the 1820 contest he received twelve votes, the next year he received six, and in 1822 he garnered three.^[358]

In 1822 at the age of seventy-one Samuel was reelected to the Connecticut General Assembly. He had last served in the assembly thirty-two years earlier, in May 1790, when he was thirty-nine years old.^[359] Samuel's son Samuel Bayard recalled that his father remained active in politics until late in life:

When nearly seventy years of age, he was again elected a member of the legislature and was at that time the Father of the house as it is termed, and presided while the house was organizing— He was for man[y] years candidate for Congress and an active member of the political party that sustained Mr Jefferson and elevated him to the first office in the rest of the nation.^[360]

Samuel's son Rufus suffered from tuberculosis and in January 1823 wrote a will that mentioned his father and mother:

To my parents I can give nothing, because I am indebted to them far beyond my means of payment; indebted for my education, and for all the other kindnesses of affectionate parents. I beg them once more to accept from me all the gratitude of which my heart is susceptible.^[361]

Rufus traveled to Edinburgh, Scotland, for his health, but died there on 24 November 1823 and was buried in the cemetery of St. Cuthbert's Church under a gravestone memorializing him as an "amiable American stranger."^[362]

In about 1823, Samuel and Polly sat for oil portraits, probably painted by Dr. Samuel Broadbent, a local physician and painter who had married the widow of a Griswold cousin. In his portrait, Samuel posed holding spectacles with his hand on a book.^[363]

³⁵⁶ *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 43, 56.

³⁵⁷ *United States 1820 Census*, Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 459, line [36], reel 1.

³⁵⁸ *New Nation Votes*, Connecticut 1820 State Senate, Connecticut 1821 State Senate, Connecticut 1822 State Senate.

³⁵⁹ *Roll of State Officers*, 71, 244.

³⁶⁰ *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 84–85.

³⁶¹ *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 138–139.

³⁶² *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 137.

³⁶³ In a letter dated 16 July 1823, Samuel's son Rufus Woodward wrote to his brother Henry Woodward: "By the way, as Mr. Fitch was taking my likeness yesterday it occurred to me whether Dr. Broadbent may not as well be sent immediately out to Torrington." See *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 129–130. Woodward and Woodward state that the proposed portrait session with Dr. Samuel Broadbent was the origin of a pair of portraits that were in the possession of author Samuel B. Woodward in 1934 and in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society in 2016. For listings of the paintings, see "Dr. Samuel Woodward (1750–1835), (painting)," "Mrs. Samuel Woodward (Mary or Polly Griswold) (1757–1834), (painting)," control numbers IAP 06840212, IAP 06840213,

A colleague of Samuel's son Samuel Bayard Woodward, Dr. George Chandler, described his associate's father:

His father was a large, muscular, healthy man, of strong mental power and of a long lived race.^[364]

Samuel retired from his medical practice in 1823 or 1824, according to Samuel Bayard Woodward:

his business extended in every direction and his ride became one of the best in the County and he continued to secure the confidence of an extensive and enlightened community undiminished to the age of Seventy three when by the united request of his sons he retired from Active business and thus avoided the mortification which many Aged physicians feel, of having business withdraw from him.^[365]

In his practice he used few medicines and the Virtues of these he well understood he used to remark that he could not practice without Calomel opium Antimony & Bark—^[366] these remedies he prescribed with a discriminating judicious hand. he was not afraid of medicine and always looked to *results* not to *quantities*. He was extremely faithful to his patients. he rode perpetually night and day, and rarely declined a call. The poor received a full share of his attention. when very sick his attentions to them were unceasing and he furnished them with medicine from his own stores^[367]

The experience of fifty years was never erased from the mind of my father even in his extreme age his conversations on medical subjects were interesting and constructive— It was a remark of his that the bed side was the place to learn disease books were useful but practice more useful.^[368]

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut; via Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution Research Information System, "Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture," Siris-ArtInventories.SI.edu. For Samuel Broadbent, see Gerard C. Wertkin and Lee Kogan, editors, *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 70. The portrait of Samuel is reproduced in David Warren Steel, "Truman S. Wetmore of Winchester and His 'Republican Harmony,'" *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 45 (July 1980): 81; via David Warren Steel, "Truman Wetmore of Winchester," mcsr.OleMiss.edu. An apparent photographic version of the image with Samuel's hands positioned differently is reproduced in the American Antiquarian Society version of Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," plate following 61. Two lithograph portraits of Samuel, apparently based on the painting, were published after his death. See Samuel Woodward Obituary Published, plate facing 645. See also Orcutt, *History of Torrington*, frontispiece.

³⁶⁴ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 119.

³⁶⁵ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 81.

³⁶⁶ Calomel, or mercurous chloride, is a tasteless powder used medicinally as a cathartic; opium is the dried latex of the opium poppy, taken as laudanum powder or pills for pain, sleeplessness, and diarrhea; antimony is a naturally occurring and toxic metal, which powdered and mixed with lime was given as a blood purifier; bark is quinine derived from the bark of the cinchona tree of South America, an effective drug for reducing fever, inflammation, and pain, and for combating malaria. Samuel prescribed himself daily doses of opium for pain in 1831. See Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [2].

³⁶⁷ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 83.

³⁶⁸ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 83.

Samuel in his elder years summed up his life as a physician from the time he moved back to Tarringford:

for about 25 years from this I accumulated the main of my property. My annual charges in practice averaged about 5 or 600. Dollars a year including medicine, I was Physician, Surgeon, Apothecary & Midwife for the parish, & for a considerable district of country in the neighboring towns. My charges were always low, I lived Oeconomically, in a plain country fashion Study always agreed with my health & was always my diversion I never however devoted my time to it early & late as many have done & ruined their health by the means my profession was much more agreeable to my feelings than labour, as it gave me more opportunity to study.^[369]

As this biographical sketch is written for the perusal of my children, I hope they will be influenced by it to avoid my mistakes & errors & if I have any merit to imitate what is worthy of imitation. It has ever been my design & practice to bring up a family to business, to give each one an education adapted to his profession, & to study the propensity of children in order to furnish a profession. being sensible that I lost about ten years myself by laboring at a business which I hated, & which my health would not allow me to pursue. I began at 23 years of age a new business a new profession which I ought to have commenced at 12. Ten of the most precious years of my life were lost which ought to have been spent in preparing myself for the profession which I have since pursued. The want of funds, poverty was my great enemy, ignorance of myself & those who directed my early years was another obstacle in the way. My unconquerable disposition to study bore down every opposition. It does now & always has surprized me that a poor bashful boy as I was totally unacquainted with mankind, destitute of associates & the common intercourse of those of my age should have the enterprize & resolution to step forth & determine to become a scholar & a professional man. It now & always has been a subject of great consolation to me that I took the course that I did.^[370]

I can now see or think I do where I might have been more agreeably situated than in the part of the country where I have spent my days but perhaps I should not have done so well in other parts as I have in this. My settlement in the country where land is comparatively cheap has enabled me to purchase a farm & in that way been able to employ my large family in business. I trust they now, though professional men, are sensible of the benefits they experience from a knowledge of agriculture which they acquired in youth. I should however recommend to young practitioners who are possessed of funds sufficient to defray the additional expence to settle in an old populous town, in preference to a thin settled part of the country, the business is easier & the profits greater Luxury & disease generally accompany wealth, & wealth more generally accumulates in old towns than in new. when a physician has got established in business it is generally impolitic to remove. it is a work of time to become established in the practice of medicine For order to be established a professional character must be obtained, which character is not so attached to him in many cases as to follow him into a different part.^[371]

³⁶⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [12]–[13].

³⁷⁰ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [13].

³⁷¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [13]–[14].

It is therefore in my opinion of great importance where a man settles down at first, if he afterwards removes he loses much that he had gained, his professional character, this character is rather a real than moveable estate confined to the circle in which a professional man has moved & not easily transferred to another stand.^[372]

Samuel also reflected on the medical profession of his time, stating that two types of practitioners competed for patients. “Indian doctors” prescribed medicines used by Native Americans, Samuel wrote, while “apothecary doctors” relied on medicines developed in Europe. Those in the first category were popular, he added, while he and others in the second group “were shamed as the destroyers of the human race.”^[373]

There were at that time but a very few families who would use willingly Bark, Opium & Mercury. this prejudice occasioned the loss of a patient of mine Abner Ives.^[374] a vigorous healthy man about 50 went into the western country on business was exposed to fatigue & the noxious atmosphere, of that climate came home with a bilious remitting fever, he took the bark freely & recovered to such a degree that I left him. his wife refused to continue the bark & he relapsed, became stupid & died, his wife said if he took so much of that bark it would destroy the use of his limbs so that he never would be able to walk anymore^[375]

It was difficult to use those important medicine & it was in many cases absolutely necessary to use fraud & deceit to get along with the business. Many practitioners at that time were half quack & half regular. they use some powerful medicine but their chief remedies were the roots & herbs of our country. Many had their surest remedies such as Hulls colick powder^[376] & the like many would ride a hundred miles to procure such remedies. Friendship among the profession was but little known. it was common for a physician when called to see another’s patient to condemn the practice in toto & prescribe the same remedies in disguise. The great arcana in practice was for a physician to make the patient believe he had knowledge of certain remedies which others did not know. Specific remedies for certain diseases were the order of the day. Such as ones Pills, such as ones Powders, & such as ones Tincture for certain diseases must be had at all events—^[377]

Samuel also outlined his own medical history:

³⁷² Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [14].

³⁷³ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [14].

³⁷⁴ Abner Ives of Torrington, husband of Anna Ferguson Ives, died on 8 October 1801. See Arthur Coon Ives, *Genealogy of the Ives Family, Including a History of the Early Settlements and the Movement from Quinnipiac to the Black River Country* (Watertown, New York: Hungerford-Holbrook Company, 1932), 72–73.

³⁷⁵ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [15].

³⁷⁶ An 1831 medical reference book provides the following recipe: “Hull’s Colic Pills. Take cinnamon, cloves, mace, myrrh, saffron, ginger, castile soap, of each one drachm, socotorine aloes one ounce, essence of peppermint sufficient to moisten it. Make common sized pills, and take them till they operate.” See Charles A. Goodrich, editor, *A New Family Encyclopedia; or Compendium of Universal Knowledge*, second revised edition (Philadelphia: publisher name not provided, 1831), 165.

³⁷⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [15].

This biographical sketch being designed for my children & on the state of the constitution & the diseases attached to it are apt to prove hereditary a history of my own may be useful to the next generation. In the fore part of this history I mentioned the state I was in at 21 years old very small of my age^[378] the balance of the system which in many takes place at 17 or 18 was not compleated in me till 25, the destending powers of the system were weak & slow in their operation, artereal plethory^[379] continued much longer in me than is common, I finally obtained pretty good health, tho not till advanced in life, was subject to pain in the head & artereal plethory, 8 or 10 years later than is common the balance of circulation became regular. light food suited me best, untill quite advanced in life. My strength & vigor somewhat exceeded the common standard. I have been subject to plethory & have ever been benefitted by occasionally letting blood. About 50 years of age my sight failed so that I used glasses. I did not experience the effects of old age till over 60. & perhaps could endure as much at 60 as at any period of life Milk which had been a favorite food through life began about this time to set heavy on my stomach, & animal food which had disagreed in the younger part of life set easier than vegetables. a difficulty of swallowing liquids took place soon after this period owing to a degree of paralytic affection of the organs of deglutition.^[380] A sympathetic affection between the throat & genital organs is manifest in young people know by the alteration in the voice at the virile state. at this period the virile powers began to lessen & as that took place the paralysis of the throat increased which has continued to the present time. in some degree Hearing began to be rather dull about this time say 65 & has been growing more so gradually ever since. The torpor of body & mind which characterizes old people has been gradually advancing. Since the plethory has been over on the s[i]de of the veins my constitutional headach has ceased. a disposition to avoid urine often has been increasing for several years no doubt owing to the rigidity & contracted state of the cist. I am now on a little increase of exercise obliged to void mine often & a part of the time with considerable pain. I am obliged to obey the call of nature soon or suffer an involuntary discharge. A difficulty of breathing on exercise is another state of my old system owing to the rigidity of the parts which refuse to dilate & suffer the circulation to increase in due portion of natures acquirements. a general torpidity of the limbs & brain, & in some degree of the stomach & digestive organs have taken place. I cannot so readily collect myself as formerly. I know people but cannot call their names. I often speak a word which I do not mean. My asthmatic state of the lungs renders the difficulty of breathing more troublesome. as age advances I have doubless a morbid irritable state of the lungs which is hereditary. my mother had the same & my father had a morbid state of the urinary organs. it seems I have a degree of both complaints. Whether I shall be able to spin out life to the term they did is quite uncertain. seeing I have a share of the diseases of both it is very likely it will shorten my term— Age 78—^[381]

Samuel's son, Samuel Bayard Woodward, a physician himself, also wrote of his father's health:

³⁷⁸ Samuel said that in adulthood his weight ranged from 195 to 203 pounds. See Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [2].

³⁷⁹ Excess blood.

³⁸⁰ Swallowing.

³⁸¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1829, [15]–[16].

During many years of the wane of his life he was affected with a difficulty of swallowing liquids, which at one time seemed to threaten his life— this gradually subsided, and at a still later period he had a difficulty of the Urinary organs which never wholly subsided. This might probably be attributed to riding on horseback a mode of doing business which he continued thro his life— He was also affected with Asthma, a disease which was Hereditary in his family— Notwithstanding the infirmities of age and the suffering of chronic disease his mind continued as true and vigorous to the end of his long life. his memory was peculiarly tenacious and his judgments sound and correct.^[382]

The United States census recorded Samuel and Polly a final time on 1 June 1830. The household on that date consisted only of a man age seventy through seventy-nine and a woman sixty through sixty-nine (though Polly was actually age seventy-two).^[383] Samuel Bayard described his father in his elder years:

He was a man of great simplicity of Character his dress and equipage was always plain and truly republican. He believed in no factitious superiority of one man to another, excepting what talents and moral qualities created, and his intercourse with all respectable individuals in society was familiar and condescending he was esteemed by all classes of society as a man of candor and probity and his good sense and extensive information made him the resort for advice and counsel in cases of neighborly difficulties. he was remarkable for his success in preventing Law suits and adjusting such difficulties in the town and circle of his acquaintance.^[384]

they rarely had reason to regret following his advice, as it was a favorite maxim with him, “do about right, and the law is not far removed from you.”^[385]

his stile of writing was easy and chaste and his hand writing excellent to the time of his death.^[386]

He was always fond of reading and remembered with accuracy what he read up to the close of his life. He kept up his Knowledge of the world & of nations, history and occurring events were treasured in his mind with uncommon accuracy He encouraged reading in all and especially his children and pupils and always procured for them books and facilities to public libraries that the means of knowledge might be within their reach. He was fond of exhibiting to his children the characters of self educated men as Franklin Washington Clay and presented them as examples worthy of their imitation^[387]

He was a firm friend of temperance during his life I hardly ever Knew him taste ardent Spirits. for 40 years he was on the safe ground of total Abstinence from Distilled spirits

³⁸² Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 85.

³⁸³ United States 1830 Census, Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 252, line [15], reel 11.

³⁸⁴ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 91–92.

³⁸⁵ Samuel Woodward Obituary Published, 652.

³⁸⁶ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 93.

³⁸⁷ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 92.

and he never used wine. he drank sparingly of cider but for some years nothing that was intoxicating. Once when I was on a visit at his house he walked half a mile in a violent rain storm, and exceedingly dark night to hear a temperance lecture. When he was 82 years of age.^[388]

Samuel Bayard reflected on the times his father lived through and the changes he witnessed:

Doctor Woodward lived at that time and carried in his memory a firm impression of the events of that period which not only tried mens souls but which made them also, he was at an age, when the stormy influence of these events must have produced a powerful as well as lasting impression upon his youthful and vigorous mind At the time of the Declaration of Independence, he was 26 Years of age, and altho not a soldier he was not an idle spectator of these events. His patriotism was too strong his love of country too ardent, and his opposition to British aggression too deep rooted, to remain silent when he could do any thing to forward the noble cause of his country, or help on the final end and grand aim of the Revolution. He was fond of writing and at this time he employed his pen in arousing the patriotism of his countryman. As the Success of the Revolution depended as much upon the wisdom of the Statesman as the upon the courage of the chieftan—So there were many who, thru the public press sustained the glorious cause and inspired the public with ardor and zeal in the defense of their country and the protection of their rights^[389]

In his political life he never adhered to Men but to principles his political opinion were democratic and perhaps savored in some degree of radicalism he was always jealous of Men in power and feared that they would usurp what belonged to the people. He was a firm supporter of the administrations of Washington Jefferson Madison Monroe, generally approved of that of J. Q. Adams altho he had not confidence in the Man. He thought well of General Jackson as a Commander and rather favored his election but condemns many of his measures his Veto, and Protest, the Post office Affairs and his crusade against the Bank and his pertinacity with respect to nominations to the Senate he did not think evinced a steady adherence to those democratic republican principles which he so much Valued. Up to the time of his death the letters which he wrote to his sons evinced his firm adherance to his early principles— He was opposed to banks in general but in favor of a national bank to facilitate internal exchange and for giving uniformity and stability to the currency of the Country but was always afraid of monopolies.^[390]

In letters to his son, Samuel himself talked about the changes in America that occurred during his lifetime:

When I was born the United States consisted of the following provinces—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut New Jersey Pennsylvania Maryland Virginia North Carolina, South Carolina. Massachusetts contained then twice of

³⁸⁸ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 92.

³⁸⁹ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 88.

³⁹⁰ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 89.

number of inhabitants of New York or Pennsylvania, Connecticut about an equal number of those States New York & Pennsylvania was then a wilderness^[391]

Vermont has since risen into view, Kentucky, Tennessee Ohio Alabama Mississippi Louisiana Indiana Illinois, Georgia might have been mentiond. Missouri, Michigan, Florida—Arkansaw— If you live to my age more important additions & improvement will likely rise [into view] the number of inhabitants have increased from two mill[ion] to thirteen, The clymate of the united states is as favorable as [any] other & the soil as fertile & with proper improvement will sup[port] as dense & numerous population as any other country China excepted I suppose^[392]

Samuel also discussed current political issues. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 had recently set in motion the forced removal of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Muscogee Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw people from their lands in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida. Missionaries from New England and Ohio made unsuccessful attempts to support those facing removal, and the process culminated in 1838 with the United States Army forcibly evicting 16,000 Cherokee and driving them on foot to Oklahoma in what became known as the Trail of Tears. Several thousand died as a result of the compulsory removal.^[393] Meanwhile, the American Colonization Society and similar organizations were facilitating the resettlement of African Americans in Africa. An unlikely coalition of free African Americans, abolitionists, and enslavers joined in the effort, with funding from the United States government. By 1838 up to 20,000 African Americans had resettled in Liberia, which became an independent nation in 1847.^[394] Writing in 1831 and 1832, Samuel commented on both subjects. In doing so he evoked negative stereotypes and blamed the victims for the conflicts, while at the same time acknowledging that mistreatment of Native Americans engendered in them “such feelings to the people of this country that they imbrace every opportunity to revenge.”^[395]

I do not say but they have too much reason for their hostility, be that as it may I am fully of opinion that the feelings of the two nations are such that they never will live long in peace & it is best for both that they should be separated to as great a distance as the limits of the country will allow—^[396]

The United [States] has a territory sufficiently extensive to colonize the Indians & negroes too, perhaps Liberia in Affricae is the fittest place for Negroes—the climate is more congenial with their constitution Negro slavery derogates from the reputation of

³⁹¹ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 March](#), [3].

³⁹² [Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 March](#), [3].

³⁹³ United States National Park Service, Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, “Trail of Tears: A Brief History,” NPS.gov. See also Sachie Hopkins-Hayakawa, “Cherokee Campaign against Displacement, 1827–1838,” 29 April 2011, in Swarthmore College, “Global Nonviolent Action Database,” NVDatabase.Swarthmore.edu.

³⁹⁴ “Founding of Liberia, 1847,” in Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, “Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations,” History.State.gov.

³⁹⁵ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1831](#), [1].

³⁹⁶ [Samuel Woodward Letter 1831](#), [1].

this country eminently the difficulty is if they are freed what will become of them. if a location at the west was provided for their colonization where they could be put without expense of their former masters if liberated it might induce a portion at least of the slaveholders to emancipate them & free themselves from the reproach to which they are now subject & the danger of retaliation to which their oppression has excited—^[397]

In the case of Native Americans, Samuel declared that they should “exchange the hunting state for the more safe one of cultivation.”^[398] He envisioned a future America in which race was no longer a divisive issue:

Let the colour of the population of the united State be as various as the colour of their cattle, black, brown, red & White & all the shades that arise from the seven original colours when combined in all imaginary forms which can be conceived & let the prejudices which now exist arising from colour be destroyed by the familiarity of appearance^[399]

The greatest immediate danger to the United States, Samuel wrote, was that disagreements between the North and the South would lead to civil war:

I fear the great anxiety manifested towards the indians in New England arises more from a hostility towards the southern states than friendship to the indians.^[400]

These virtuous missionaries who have suffered so much to free the poor indians from the tyranny of Georgia will be the cause of a civil war & the loss perhaps of a hundred thousand lives & the division & destruction of their country small sparks often kindle large fires cases less than these have been the destruction of more than one nation^[401]

The Union must be preserved. The Union must be preserved. Let this be engraved on all our vessels & stereotyped on every writing & impressed with letters of gold on the posts of our doors, over our mantels, in our parlours & in our bed chambers & occupy a principal seat in our minds. If indians must be sacrificed let it be so, if a portion, of the privileges of each section of the country must be sacrificed let it be so. The Union must be preserved^[402]

every controversy between States, with each other, between State or States & the united State fills me with anxiety for fear of a dissolution of the union. I am an old man have nothing to hope or fear respecting myself my glass is Almost run. my departure is at hand but I have a family yes a family of which I am proud they have children the name is encreasing I have country which I love the welfare of which is near my heart considering what I was, & what I am & the prospects in my family before me I am astonished.^[403]

³⁹⁷ Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [3].

³⁹⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [2].

³⁹⁹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [3].

⁴⁰⁰ Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [1].

⁴⁰¹ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 March, [1].

⁴⁰² Samuel Woodward Letter 1831, [1].

⁴⁰³ Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 March, [3].

Samuel's wife Polly died on 28 March 1834 at age seventy-six.^[404] Samuel was eighty-three years old at the time of her death. Their son Charles wrote to his brother Samuel Bayard on 6 April:

Father appears more affected by Mothers death than I expected he would. The reality that he must soon follow seems to be impressed upon him. When I was there we made arrangements that he should break up housekeeping and board with Mary—^[405]

On 6 May 1834, Samuel wrote his will, dividing his estate equally between his children. He named his son Griswold and son-in-law John Gillette his executors.^[406] Though it was not specified in the will, Samuel would pass along to his son Samuel Bayard Woodward his "cane walking stick." Samuel Bayard would in turn give the walking stick to his son Charles.^[407]

Samuel's insistence on choosing his own religious path was a subject of comment shortly before his death. His physician, Erasmus D. Hudson, wrote in his diary the day before Samuel died that his patient would pay for his infidelity to the established Congregational Church. Samuel, Hudson wrote,

could not think that there would be an eternal punishment. Oh God! will he not be fearfully surprised?

Hudson himself later left the church and expressed regret for his earlier comments.^[408]

Samuel Bayard described his father's final days, which ended with his death on 26 January 1835 at the age of eighty-four.^[409]

His fatal disease was a pneumonia with which he was attacked in January and after two or three weeks severe suffering he expired on the 26 of January—at age of 84 and two months. he was buried in the Ground in Torrington and a handsome Monument

⁴⁰⁴ *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9. See also *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 80–81, 85. Samuel Bayard errs in describing his parents' ages at death, saying of his mother, "She died at the Age of 77. a few months previous to his death which happened in the year 1834 January 26 in the 85 year of his Age"; later in the same document he states that his father "expired on the 26 of January at age of 84 and two months." Regarding his mother, Samuel Bayard apparently meant that she died in her seventy-seventh year, i.e., at age seventy-six. In his father's case, in both instances he gives his correct age at death but in the first instance he errs in giving the year as 1834. His estimate of his father's age in the more precise second instance calculates from Samuel's birthday to be 26 January 1835.

⁴⁰⁵ *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 76–77.

⁴⁰⁶ *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 72–73.

⁴⁰⁷ *Samuel Bayard Woodward Will*.

⁴⁰⁸ Christopher Clark, "The Communitarian Moment: Founders, Origins, and Contexts," in *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654–2004*, Kerry W. Buckley, editor, ([Northampton, Massachusetts]: Historic Northampton Museum & Education Center, 2004), 325.

⁴⁰⁹ *Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript*, 80–81, 85. *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, Torrington Cemetery, Torrington, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also *Find A Grave*, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, P. Welch, Torrington Cemetery, Torrington, Connecticut, 1 December 2013, Find A Grave Memorial 98295278, Allison Ferris Pierce, 4 October 2012. See also *Lincoln, History of Worcester*, 219.

is erected to himself and his family by his surviving Children on which is recorded the deaths of parents and those sons who were not buried in the same ground, contiguous to the monuments of his Eight children four survive and 4 succeeded him to the grave.^[410]

He was a kind and indulgent Father and very proud of his family, and fond of his children he spent his whole time during the last years of his life in devising ways and means for their comfort and happiness. When his eldest son was elected a member of the Senate of his native state he wrote him a long letter of congratulation saying amongst other things that he had never expected to live to see the term “Honorable” affixed to the name of one of his children.

He lived to see many good days, and sunk to the Grave full of years and with the blessings of thousands resting upon his Memory. He lived for the benefit of Community and that community for whom he spent his days valued him as a man, as a citizen and as a physician, and as a Magistrate. he sunk to the grave when life was no longer desirable, because no long useful.^[411]

The monument in Tarringford Cemetery across the street from Samuel’s house features a peaked marble steeple and four etched sides:

Samuel Woodward M.D. Died Jan. 26. 1835. ae 84. Mary Woodward his wife. Died March 28. 1834. ae 77.

As Samuel Bayard noted, the other sides of the monument list the death dates and places of Samuel and Mary’s sons (including those who died after their parents).^[412]

Just over a century after Samuel’s death, on 8 November 1936, a memorial service was held in his honor at the Tarringford Congregational Church. The service included a sermon by the Rev. Elisha L. Sawyer, the reading of a biographical sketch by Tarringford historian Elizabeth Gaylord, and the “singing of songs appropriate to Dr. Woodward’s times.” The congregation, which included “a number of descendants of the pioneer physician,” after the service “adjourned to the old Woodward place, now

⁴¹⁰ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 85. See also Connecticut Photographs 2014, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, P. Welch, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 1 December 2013, Find A Grave Memorial 98295278, Allison Ferris Pierce, 4 October 2012.

⁴¹¹ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 93.

⁴¹² Samuel and Mary’s death dates and ages at death are given correctly on their gravestone, with the exception Polly’s age at death which is given as seventy-seven rather than seventy-six. See Connecticut Photographs 2014, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, P. Welch, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 1 December 2013, Find A Grave Memorial 98295278, Allison Ferris Pierce, 4 October 2012.

owned by Mrs. Edith Many, where a marker was installed. This marker will be affixed to the house close to the room in which Dr. Woodward had his office.”^[413]

Children of Samuel and Mary (Griswold) Woodward:^[414]

- i. MARY⁶ WOODWARD, born 20 September 1783; married JOHN GILLETTE.
- ii. LAURA WOODWARD, born 29 June 1785; died 5 December 1801.
- 8 iii. SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, born 11 June 1787; married MARIA PORTER.
- iv. ELIJAH WOODWARD, born 25 April 1789; died 8 January 1817.
- v. GRISWOLD WOODWARD, born 3 February 1791; married LUCIA WHITING. During the temperance movement, Griswold “was the first man in his community to abandon the practice of furnishing liquors during harvest time, paying his men additional wages in the place of the cost of the liquor.”^[415]
- vi. RUFUS WOODWARD, born 16 July 1793; died 24 November 1823.
- vii. HENRY “HARRY” WOODWARD, born 26 May 1795; married (1) CHIFFONETTE LE GROS TRYON, (2) MARY E. HENDERSON.
- viii. CHARLES WOODWARD, born 16 August 1798; married (1) ELIZABETH HILLS, (2) ELLEN M. PRATT.

Samuel Bayard Woodward

1787–1850

Torrington, Connecticut
Watertown, Connecticut
Litchfield, Connecticut
Wethersfield, Connecticut
Worcester, Massachusetts
Northampton, Massachusetts

8. SAMUEL BAYARD⁶ WOODWARD^[416] (*Samuel⁵, Israel⁴, John Jr.³, John Sr.², Henry¹, John^A, Robert^B*) was born on 11 June 1787 in Torrington, Connecticut.^[417] He died on 3 January 1850 in Northampton, Massachusetts.^[418] Samuel Bayard married MARIA

⁴¹³ “Dr. Woodward, Pioneer Physician.” See also *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Samuel Woodward house and historical plaque photographs, 1683 Torrington Street, Torrington, Connecticut, 6 June 2014.

⁴¹⁴ *Samuel Woodward Letter 1833*, [2]. See also *Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December*, [1]. See also *Orcutt, History of Torrington*, 627–633. See also *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9, 43, 56. See also *Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,”* 76, 109–159.

⁴¹⁵ *Orcutt, History of Torrington*, 630.

⁴¹⁶ Samuel Woodward spelled his mother’s birth name both “Bard” and “Beard” and his son’s middle name “Bard.” Samuel Bayard, however, spelled his middle name “Bayard.” For Samuel’s spellings, see *Samuel Woodward Letter 1833*, [1], [2] (son’s middle name given as “Bard,” mother’s birth name given as “Bard”). See also *Samuel Woodward Letter 1832 December*, [1] (son’s middle name given as “Bard,” mother’s birth name given as “Beard”).

⁴¹⁷ *Barbour Collection Vital Records*, 47:65, citing Torrington vital records, 9.

⁴¹⁸ *Northampton Vital Record Notes*, Samuel B. Woodward death record, 3 January 1850. See also *Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary*.

PORTER on 10 July 1815.^[419] Maria was born on 2 July 1797, the daughter of Eleazer and Sarah (Keyes) Porter of Hadley, Massachusetts.^[420]

Samuel Bayard was age three on 2 August 1790 when he was recorded in his native Torrington with his family in the United States census. He and his year-old brother Elijah were listed as boys under age sixteen living with their two sisters and their father and mother.^[421]

A colleague in adulthood, Dr. George Chandler, later described the early life of his medical associate:

At the age of four years he went, as was then the custom, to a pest house, and was inoculated with matter of small pox. He had the disease quite severely.

The early advantages of education enjoyed by Dr. Woodward were afforded by the common district school in his native village^[422]

In 1800 Samuel Bayard was counted in the United States census again, this time in a family that had grown larger. The thirteen-year-old was listed with his parents, two sisters, and five brothers on the 4 August 1800 census date.^[423]

Samuel Bayard attended Morris Academy in Litchfield, Connecticut, graduating in 1807 at the age of nineteen.^[424] Morris Academy was a grammar school in the South Farms parish of Litchfield founded in 1790 by Revolutionary War Captain James Morris.^[425] Among essays Samuel Bayard wrote while at the school were “Benevolence,”

⁴¹⁹ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 120.

⁴²⁰ Maria Porter birth record, 2 July 1797, Hadley, Massachusetts, Births, 1797, 68; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Vital Records of Hadley, Massachusetts, ca. 1660–1882*, reel 186152, item 4; via “Massachusetts, Births and Christenings, 1639–1915,” FamilySearch.org. *Northampton Vital Record Notes*, Maria P. Woodward death record, 11 October 1873 (an erroneous age at death of “76y 4m 8d” calculates to a birth date of 3 June 1797). See also Lucius M. Boltwood, “Genealogies of Hadley Families Embracing the Early Settlers of the Towns of Hatfield, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby,” in Judd, *History of Hadley*, separately paginated appendix, 114.

⁴²¹ Samuel Woodward family, [Torrington], Litchfield County, Connecticut, sheet 406, line [19], First Census of the United States, 1790, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *First Census of the United States, 1790*, M637, 12 reels., reel 1; via “1790 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

⁴²² Chandler, “Dr. Woodward,” 119, 120.

⁴²³ Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 810 (stamped page 199), line [14], Second Census of the United States, 1800, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Second Census of the United States, 1800*, M32, 52 reels, reel 2; via “1800 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

⁴²⁴ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 109–110. Woodward and Woodward state that Samuel Bayard graduated in “1806/7,” apparently meaning the 1806–1807 school year. The January 1807 dates of essays Samuel Bayard wrote while at Morris Academy make it clear that he did not graduate until 1807.

⁴²⁵ G. H. Hollister, *The History of Connecticut, from the First Settlement of the Colony*, two volumes (New Haven, Connecticut: Durrie and Peck, 1855), 2:416–417. The foundation of the original Morris Academy building is extant on the grounds of the James Morris School (a public elementary school) in Morris, Connecticut. See *Connecticut Photographs 2014*, Morris Academy foundation and explanatory plaque photographs, grounds of James Morris Elementary School, 10 East Street, Morris, Connecticut, 6 June 2014. See also James Morris entry in database of people associated with the Litchfield Law

dated 19 January 1807, and “Gaming, Drinking, etc.,” dated 25 January 1807.^[426] He also wrote essays on “Ardent Spirits,” “Louisiana,” “Sincerity and Truth,” “Silence and Wisdom,” “Death,” “Progress of Youth,” “Swearing,” “Pride,” and “The Vanity of the World.”^[427]

An essay Samuel Bayard wrote entitled “Slavery” was dated 4 March 1807:

When we behold the inhabitants of this globe and consider their various situations, some living in great pomp and magnificence; others doomed to perpetual slavery and servitude, we cannot but reflect upon the evils attendant upon both. I cannot but consider the unjust dominion which one man exercises over another, the pride and insolence which will naturally be seen in the former and the absolute wretchedness of the latter as one of the greatest evils which ever befell any country.

When we reflect upon the subject of human slavery and consider the state of wretchedness to which it reduces the country from which they are taken, particularly those persons who happen to be connected with these unhappy mortals; when we consider that the taking of one individual may prove the ruin of a whole family, perhaps of numbers, and reduce them to a state of misery and want, we cannot but decide without hesitation upon the wickedness and illegality of such a traffic.^[428]

After graduating from Morris Academy, Samuel Bayard studied to be a physician by assisting his father in his medical practice. In 1809 he was examined by the Connecticut Medical Society and issued a license to practice medicine.^[429] One of the two physicians administering the final examination of Samuel Bayard was his father.^[430] On 4 July 1809 Samuel Bayard delivered an Independence Day oration.^[431]

On 6 August 1810 Samuel Bayard was recorded in the United States census in his father’s household in Toringford. The family included his parents, his sister Mary, and his brothers Elijah, Rufus, Griswold, Henry, and Charles.^[432]

Samuel Bayard wrote several essays dated 1810 that he subtitled “Papers Read before a Literary Society.” One was titled “Effects of the Discovery of America”:

School and the Litchfield Female Academy, “The Ledger,” Litchfield Historical Society, LitchfieldHistoricalSociety.org.

⁴²⁶ Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Institutions in America: Social Policy to 1875* (New York: Free Press, 1973), 61, citing Samuel Bayard Woodward Writings, volume, section, page number not provided.

⁴²⁷ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 24, citing “S. B. W., Papers written at Morris Academy (1806–1807), MSS in Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, Vol. II.” See also notes on a visit to the Worcester State Hospital, Hobson Woodward and Vernon Powell Woodward, circa 1988, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁴²⁸ Samuel Bayard Woodward Writings, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Slavery,” essay number XVII in “Essays Written at Morris Academy, 1806–1807,” volume 3, section 19, pages 50–51.

⁴²⁹ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 109–110. See also Lincoln, History of Worcester, 219–220. See also Bouley, *Pioneer Settlers*, 587.

⁴³⁰ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 30.

⁴³¹ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 110.

⁴³² Samuel Woodward family, Torrington, Litchfield County, Connecticut, page 52 (stamped), line [8], Third Census of the United States, 1810, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Third Census of the United States, 1810*, M252, 71 reels, reel 2; via “1810 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

Humanity weeps to tell us the violence done its character; human sensibility stands aghast, full of wonder and disgust at the recital of the horrid deed performed soon after the discovery of this continent by Columbus.

What one of us, Sir, can reflect upon the cruelty, the barbarity, the inhumanity of the conqueror of Mexico and the ravager of Peru, and not have our feelings raised to the highest possible pitch, and not withhold shedding the tears of pity? What misery is here presented to our view? Ten millions of innocent human beings living in the enjoyment of their own inheritance, in happiness and in peace; virtuous though not enlightened; rich but not profligate; without the least suspicious of danger; cut off, as it were, in a moment and consigned to the grave and to eternity. What a subject for the imagination! See the wretched survivors! Behold them designating their friends and their kindred among the heaps of the slain! See the weeping orphan, while lamenting the loss of a tender parent, the kind father or the tenderest mother, see his head disvered from his body by this infernal barbarity of the Spanish soldiery! Hear the melancholy cry of woe, the involuntary effort of despairing grief! See the brutality to the fair sex, whose charms should effect, and whose reproach would sting, the feeling heart!

Samuel Bayard also lamented the damage wrought when the Spanish brought syphilis back to Europe. Not only were the people of South America injured, he wrote, but the misery was spread to the world:

It did not end in the robbing them of their mines and their treasures; it did not terminate in the seduction of their families, but it extended to Spain; to all Europe, to Africa and to the world! And I grieve to say with others, it extended to us. With the immense treasures which the Conquerors of America inpiously gained and sent to Europe, they also sent one of the greatest afflictions incident to man, a disease which spread with unexampled rapidity throughout all Europe, the malignity and brutality of which, if we can rely upon the credibility of writers, was beyond conception great. Thousands fell victims to it, and other thousands were deformed and crippled by the loss of an arm or a tongue, and still more frequently an organ more dear and perhaps more useful was the melancholy consequence.

If we can see millions of innocents fall victims to the sword, to disease and to intemperance; if we can behold virtue debauched, chastity poluted, a nation ruined, and a world degenerated, without the keenest sensation, we can behold this picture with like composure as if, on the contrary, they are considered too delicate for our feelings; too notorious for excuse, or too serious for compensation, let me remind you that such were the realities exhibited, and such the consequences of the discovery of America.^[433]

As an adult Samuel Bayard was said to be “a man pronounced by artists as without a superior in the country for physical development.”^[434] He stood six feet, four inches,

⁴³³ *Samuel Bayard Woodward Writings*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Paper Read Before a Literary Society on Effects of the Discovery of America,” in “Papers Read Before a Literary Society,” volume 3, section 21, pages 1–2, 4, 8.

⁴³⁴ *Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary*.

tall and weighed 260 pounds.^[435] Samuel Bayard was predominantly left-handed, though he was ambidextrous to the extent that he could write two letters simultaneously, one with each hand.^[436]

Samuel Bayard moved from Torrington to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in November 1810.^[437] By 1812 he had a regular practice in Wethersfield. He made 110 visits by carriage in March of that year and earned a monthly income of forty dollars.^[438] While practicing in Wethersfield, Samuel Bayard held a commission as surgeon in the militia.^[439]

On New Year's Day, 1813, Samuel Bayard wrote a letter to his five younger brothers. In it he told them that they should be pleased they were neither rich nor poor and that they should refrain from vice:

We are situated in society in not the most envied, but perhaps in the most enviable condition, a state of mediocrity.

This condition of life is the most happy or at least the most certain to lead to usefulness. The wealthy are idle; or if active only in amusement or effeminate, feeble and spiritless. The poor are too frequently badly fed or clothed, which destroys their health; their minds unimproved and their habits vicious and brutal

It is not, however, sufficient that we refrain from vicious habits because they will injure our character with mankind. We must have fixed and unchangeable rules of conduct; we must do good because it is good; right because it is right, and avoid vice, because it is intrinsically wrong. If we are actuated by these motives, we shall never materially swerve from the rules of virtue. This is the essence of sound morality, the main source of happiness in life and the road to eternal enjoyment.^[440]

In about 1817 Samuel Bayard suffered from a fever and was cared for by his physician father, according to an account written by one of Samuel Bayard's medical colleagues:

At about thirty years old, he was severely sick with a low grade of fever, and was delirious; during which he refused to take food, under the impression that his children were given him to eat, and afterwards from thinking it wrong to eat, as there was not food enough on the earth to support the inhabitants.

In that sickness he labored under a disease of the organ of vision. Those in his sick chamber seemed to move with great velocity. Those coming towards him appeared to be coming so fast that they would certainly dash against him. He requested them to

⁴³⁵ Woodward Family Charts.

⁴³⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 120.

⁴³⁷ Lincoln, History of Worcester, 220.

⁴³⁸ Samuel Woodward Letter 1812, [1].

⁴³⁹ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 122.

⁴⁴⁰ Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 23–24, citing "S. B. W. to his brothers, 1813, Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, Vol. II."

move slowly. This fever left him with an enlarged leg, the veins of which were varicose. An ulcer came upon the ankle of this leg, which was open most of the time.^[441]

Samuel Bayard recovered from his illness and continued with his medical career. Like his father he trained medical students in his office.^[442] Among them was his brother Henry, who assisted for four years before establishing his own practice in Middletown.^[443] A colleague recalled that Samuel Bayard reserved the early hours of the day for teaching:

It was his rule to attend to his students and hear their recitations in the morning before sun-rise. He seldom failed of being at his own house punctually at the hour of dining. This, country physicians think they cannot always do.^[444]

Samuel Bayard and his brother Henry were especially close. In a joint letter published in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* on 15 July 1820, they denied a report that yellow fever had been discovered in Wethersfield.^[445] In addition to teaching Henry the doctor's profession, a colleague later recalled, during their time together in Wethersfield Samuel Bayard "was associated with his brother Henry in the sale of drugs and medicines."^[446]

The families of Samuel Bayard and his brother Henry were apparently recorded together in the U.S. census on 7 August 1820. The family included one man twenty-six to forty-four (Samuel Bayard), three males sixteen through twenty-five (presumably one was Henry, who had turned twenty-five three months earlier; the other two are unknown), and two boys under ten (Samuel Bayard and Maria's sons Charles and Rufus). There was one woman forty-five or over (unknown), two females sixteen through twenty-five (one was Samuel Bayard's wife Maria; the other is unknown, as Henry's first wife died in 1818 and he did not marry again until 1821), and two females under ten (Samuel Bayard and Maria's daughter Urania and Henry's daughter Mary).^[447]

As he progressed in his practice, Samuel Bayard developed a distinctive style. A colleague recalled his manner in his general practice:

His intercourse with the sick was so gentle, cheerful and winning, that he soon gained their confidence and love. He nourished their hopes of recovery, by holding up the bright side of their cases. They anticipated his visits with pleasure, as their physician and their friend. He recognized the influence of the mind over the physical functions,

⁴⁴¹ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 120–121.

⁴⁴² Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 110.

⁴⁴³ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 140.

⁴⁴⁴ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 131.

⁴⁴⁵ "Yellow Fever in Connecticut," New York *Commercial Advertiser*, 15 July 1820, 2.

⁴⁴⁶ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 121.

⁴⁴⁷ United States 1820 Census, Samuel Bayard Woodward family, Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, page 308 (stamped; also stamped 812), line [23], reel 2. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 120, 140, 142–143.

and, by his relation of agreeable stories and successful cases of a similar kind to theirs, he animated their hopes.^[448]

Like his father, Samuel Bayard delivered babies. He also wrote an essay describing the best approach to be taken by a doctor practicing obstetrics:

In the first place it is necessary, above all other things that he be able to maintain perfect self command; that he be quite at home, free and jovial with all present, especially with the patient, if she is inclined to sociability.

Unless there is necessity, he should never hurry, nor be over inquisitive with the patient about her symptoms.^[449]

In 1820 and 1821, Samuel Bayard cared for two patients whose treatments he later described in case histories. The first was a woman who injured her head in a fall into a cistern at the age of eighteen. Samuel Bayard reported that slowly worsening symptoms over a number of years after the accident culminated in an extended period of extreme constipation in the spring and summer of 1821:

from April, nothing whatever passed her bowels till September, a period of exactly 138 days! She frequently passed no water for 15 or 20 days in succession.

Despite her sufferings, the patient eventually recovered.^[450]

A second woman had fallen from a window at the age of nine and continued to suffer symptoms for thirteen years. Samuel Bayard reported that after much distress, it was discovered that a two-inch long tooth of a hair comb had been driven into her head in the fall. The tooth took a painful journey through her body to her esophagus and eventually passed through her digestive system, Samuel Bayard wrote, after which the patient recovered.^[451]

During the course of his practice Samuel Bayard twice contracted smallpox, despite his having first contracted the disease in childhood for the purpose of inoculation:

He took the disease from patients he attended. The second time he was feverish for a day or two, and had some two hundred pock. During his third attack, he had several pock on his hands while attending a man sick with small pox, and for whom he did much in the way of nursing. But this time he was not confined by it to the house.^[452]

⁴⁴⁸ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 127.

⁴⁴⁹ Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 47, citing "S. B. W., 'Midwifery' (1810?), MS in Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, Vol. II, p. 1."

⁴⁵⁰ Samuel B. Woodward, "Case of Remarkable Costiveness; and Case of Anomalous Symptoms Produced by the Irritation of a Foreign Body," *New-England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 14 (April 1825): 143–145.

⁴⁵¹ Samuel B. Woodward, "Case of Remarkable Costiveness; and Case of Anomalous Symptoms Produced by the Irritation of a Foreign Body," *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 14 (April 1825): 145–146.

⁴⁵² Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 120.

On 9 and 10 May 1821 Samuel Bayard attended a meeting of the Connecticut Medical Society as a fellow from Hartford County. At the meeting he was chosen to serve on “a committee to whom was referred the expediency of establishing an Insane or General Hospital in this State.”^[453] A later account said that Samuel Bayard was an enthusiastic proponent of the project and traveled the state to lobby for the establishment of a hospital. “While engaged in forwarding the establishment of this Retreat he travelled over a large part of Connecticut in his gig.”^[454] The committee reported on 22 May with a recommendation that a hospital be built.^[455]

Samuel Bayard spoke in favor of state funding for the hospital before the Connecticut state legislature on 21 May 1822. The state of New York had successfully constructed such an institution, he said, and state funding was necessary if Connecticut was to do the same.^[456] The legislation was approved, and in September it was announced that a meeting would be held in Middletown to plan the establishment of the hospital.^[457] At the meeting Samuel Bayard served as secretary, recording the names of those who pledged donations.^[458] More than 600 people would ultimately contribute to the construction of a hospital.^[459] When officers were chosen at a meeting on 3 December, Samuel Bayard was appointed a member of the hospital’s “prudential committee.”^[460] Samuel Bayard was one of three members of the committee who announced that the Hartford Retreat for the Insane would open on 1 April 1824.^[461]

A colleague later explained that Samuel Bayard saw a need for a hospital in Connecticut after treating patients with psychiatric illness in his practice:

His attention was called to this special department of his profession by the occurrence of several cases of insanity in his own practice and that of his professional brethren whose adviser he was.

Samuel Bayard, the colleague said, “was known as one of the few physicians who paid particular attention to the subject of insanity.”^[462]

⁴⁵³ “Connecticut Medical Society,” Hartford *Connecticut Mirror*, 21 May 1821, 3.

⁴⁵⁴ [Samuel B. Woodward] “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” in Worcester Fire Society, *Reminiscences and Biographical Notices of Twenty-One Members of the Worcester Fire Society*, sixth series (Worcester, Massachusetts: Press of Charles Hamilton, 1899), 22. See also (a close copy of this work) Samuel Bayard Woodward Profile, 1263. Note that Samuel B. Woodward, the author of these works, was a namesake grandson of Dr. Samuel Bayard Woodward.

⁴⁵⁵ “Retreat for the Insane,” Hartford, Connecticut, *American Mercury*, 5 June 1821, 3.

⁴⁵⁶ “Tuesday, May 21,” Hartford, Connecticut, *Times*, 28 May 1822, 2.

⁴⁵⁷ “The Undersigned, in Conformity to an Act of the General Assembly,” Middletown, Connecticut, *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 September 1822, 3.

⁴⁵⁸ “At a Meeting of the Society for the Relief of the Insane,” Hartford *Connecticut Mirror*, 4 November 1822, 3.

⁴⁵⁹ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 62.

⁴⁶⁰ “Officers of the Retreat,” Middletown, Connecticut, *Middlesex Gazette*, 26 December 1822, 2. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 110. See also Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 219–220.

⁴⁶¹ “Retreat for the Insane,” *Norwich [Connecticut] Courier*, 17 March 1824, 2.

⁴⁶² Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 17.

Samuel Bayard received an honorary degree in medicine from Yale University in 1822.^[463] He served as an examiner of the Yale Medical School and was offered but declined a position on the faculty.^[464]

An epidemic of fever swept Wethersfield, Berlin, and Newington in the summer of 1823, sickening 500 and killing forty-four. Samuel Bayard was one of the doctors who treated fever patients. Medicines used included brandy; wine; opium; ammonia; quinine; oils of peppermint, cinnamon, and cloves; herbal tea; capsicum (a pepper plant derivative); serpentaria (a snakeroot derivative), lytta (ground blister beetles), and arsenic solution. In a case history of the epidemic, Samuel Bayard compared the illness to typhus, a disease carried by fleas and lice.^[465]

In May 1825 Samuel Bayard and thirty others founded the Connecticut Historical Society. A resolution of the state legislature establishing the organization listed Samuel Bayard among those who petitioned for the creation of a society.^[466]

A letter from Samuel Bayard to Dr. Amos G. Hull dated 1 June 1826 was published in a newspaper advertisement for “Dr. A. G. Hull’s Patent Hinge Truss”:

Since our interview at my house I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have been cured of a rupture of 15 years continuance by the use of your Truss. I found on the first trial that it was more effectual in retaining the bowels than any instrument I have ever used. I soon found that a favourable change had taken place and I supposed myself cured. About this time I was reduced very low with Typhus fever, as I began to recover I again found appearance of the rupture. I applied the Truss again and in a few weeks found myself cured. I continued the instrument about one year when I left it off and for the last three years have been quite free from complaint.

Hull’s Trusses were offered for sale at Ebenezer Wight’s drugstore on Milk Street in Boston.^[467]

When a Connecticut state commission sought a site for a state prison, Samuel Bayard was one of those lobbying for Wethersfield. A selling point he noted was an abundance of shad in the Connecticut River. At twenty cents per hundred and 20,000 to 30,000 barrels taken annually, he said, the people held at the prison could be fed

⁴⁶³ *Catalogus Senatus Academici, et Eorum qui Munera et Officia Academica Gesserunt, Quique Aliquovis Gradu Exornati Fuerunt, in Collegio Yalensi, in Novo-Portu, in Reipublica Connecticutensi* (New Haven, Connecticut: B. L. Hamlen, 1853), 100. See also “At an Annual Convention of the President and Fellows of the Connecticut Medical Society,” Hartford, Connecticut, *American Mercury*, 8 July 1822, 3. See also “Commencement,” New Haven, Connecticut, *Religious Intelligencer*, 21 September 1822, 271. See also *Lincoln, History of Worcester*, 219.

⁴⁶⁴ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 110.

⁴⁶⁵ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “An Account of the Fever which Prevailed in Berlin, Connecticut, in 1823,” *New England Medical Review and Journal* 1 (July 1827): 295, 297–300.

⁴⁶⁶ “Resolve Incorporating the Connecticut Historical Society,” in Officers of the Connecticut Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Connecticut Historical Society, Reports and Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting, May 23, 1940* (Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut Historical Society, 1940), [5]. See also Edgar F. Waterman, “President’s Address,” in Officers of the Connecticut Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Connecticut Historical Society, Reports and Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting, May 23, 1940* (Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut Historical Society, 1940), 14.

⁴⁶⁷ “Dr. A. G. Hull’s Patent Hinge Truss,” *New England Farmer* 5 (3 November 1826), 120.

cheaply there. The campaign was successful and at the establishment of the prison in 1827 he was named its physician.^[468] During his first two years in the post he served as visiting physician, going to the prison to examine and treat incarcerated men and women whenever summoned by the warden.^[469]

After the prison was in operation for six months, in April 1828, Samuel Bayard reported on the health of the prison population in the first of a series of annual reports. The people held at the prison were generally healthy, he reported, noting that those who previously drank “spirits and cider” benefited from being allowed nothing but water. They were required to work to ensure that they established “habits of industry, which will in future life, form one of the greatest barriers against vice and crime”:

The convicts are required to wash themselves regularly—to change their under garments frequently, and to keep themselves in all respects as cleanly as mechanics at the same labor out of doors.

The night rooms are swept daily and thoroughly scrubbed. The framed cots on which the men sleep are turned up in the day time, and the beds or mats and covering, are hung up and freely exposed to the air. The rooms are frequently white washed, and are kept in very fine order. The plan for ventilation, and a supply of pure air is found admirably adapted. The great hall and night rooms are thus kept free from that disgusting prison smell so common in Institutions of this kind. During the winter, the cold air is tempered by the constant burning of Lehigh coal.

Samuel Bayard said that the care of women occupied much of his time. “The female prisoners, four only in number, required almost constant attention, were continually making complaints, and occasioned even more trouble than all the males.”^[470]

A year later, on 1 April 1829, Samuel Bayard again reported on the health of the people held at the prison. During the previous twelve months the population averaged 120, he said, and they fared well:

Uncommon health has prevailed in the Institution the past year. Not a death has occurred within that period; and only one since the Prison was first tenanted in June 1827. This degree of healthfulness and exemption from fatality is, it is presumed, unexampled in the history of Prisons.

Samuel Bayard again emphasized that the incarcerated were denied alcoholic beverages:

⁴⁶⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 110. See also Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 220. See also Connecticut Photographs 2014, Connecticut state prison site, employee parking lot of the State of Connecticut Department of Motor Vehicles office, 60 State Street, Wethersfield, Connecticut, 5 June 2014. The former location of the prison was identified by Wethersfield Historical Society Curator Rachel Quish Zilinski.

⁴⁶⁹ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 2.

⁴⁷⁰ “Report of the Directors and Warden of the Connecticut State Prison,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 10 June 1828, 1–2. This report was partially excerpted in “The State Prison Documents,” *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2–3.

Some of these were veteran drinkers; and one, in addition to spirits, had for 17 years used large quantities of opium. These prisoners were deprived of spirits at once without a substitute. Those individuals in whom the habit was long confirmed, suffered a temporary loss of appetite and almost overwhelming anguish for the want of their accustomed stimulus, which seemed for the time, to supercede every other evil connected with their confinement. But by attentive watching, the use of coffee and nutritious and wholesome diet, the appetite was soon improved, and after a while greatly increased—the craving for spirits gradually subsides; and after sometime had elapsed, they acknowledged an improvement in their feelings, increase of bodily strength and vigor of mind.^[471]

After two years of positive news, difficulties arose at the prison in 1829. In June of that year, the warden, Moses Pilsbury, was absent for a month and left the institution in the care of his son Amos. In October 1829, Samuel Bayard told the state prison board that deputy warden Amos Pilsbury was not allowing access to people who were sick and that five had died due to “insufficiency of food or poverty of diet.” In response, the board gave Samuel Bayard the authority to visit without the invitation of the warden and to remove the ill from work details, a power previously within the jurisdiction of the warden. Thus began a tumultuous public dispute that pitted the Pilsburys against Samuel Bayard and his advocate on the prison board, Martin Welles.^[472]

Samuel Bayard later said that while his statement to the prison board about Amos Pilsbury’s actions was frank, he had hoped to avoid inflaming the situation:

I endeavored only to state so much as would induce the Directors to examine the subject, and avoided as much as possible stating any thing which would injure the Messrs. Pilsburys, or produce an unfavorable impression.

My wish was, so far as I could, to remove the difficulties silently, and not to produce an open rupture.^[473]

Samuel Bayard suggested that his approach was in keeping with his general policy of keeping his interactions with patients private:

Enquiries are often made of me, respecting the treatment of prisoners, which I always endeavour to wave. I wish to avoid them. In my general conversation, I have not thought it my duty to make public, what I saw at the Prison, or in my private practice; and I may have made such general remarks, as would lead to the conclusion that I did not disapprove. Were I to take any other course, it would occasion constant excitement. In my communications with the Directors, I have been very guarded. My object

⁴⁷¹ “The State Prison Documents,” *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2.

⁴⁷² Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 2–3, 23, 25–26. Martin Welles and the faction that opposed warden Amos Pilsbury published this pamphlet, and though it claims to draw upon the official record of the proceedings, Pilsbury’s supporters claimed it was biased. See “State Prison,” *Hartford [Connecticut] Times*, 6 August 1832, 2.

⁴⁷³ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 25, 26.

has been to remove the abuses quietly, not to produce an excitement in the mind of any one.^[474]

John Russ, a member of the prison board, described the day he informed Moses Pilsbury about the board's decision to give Samuel Bayard unfettered access to imprisoned people who were sick:

Mr. Pilsbury seemed to be displeased, and found fault with Judge Welles and Dr. Woodward, as being the authors of the measure; said he knew where it came from, and that it was done to embarrass him, said he did not like the manner in which the business was done, it ought to have been done in his presence, said he did not think Judge Welles and Dr. Woodward had treated him properly about it.^[475]

Samuel Bayard also described the senior Pilsbury's reaction to the new regulations, marking it as a turning point in his work with the prison administration:

He appeared to be extremely angry, and when I next saw him he manifested, as well as his son, great displeasure at the regulation, both said many unkind things, and treated me personally with great coldness and incivility.^[476]

These regulations were opposed by the officers, particularly the present Warden, who had charge of the sick, and every obstacle was thrown in the way of operation, by them: and as Mr. Welles and myself were supposed to have exerted ourselves to produce their adoption, we were never forgiven. And here was the origin of all the difficulties which have subsequently disturbed the Prison.^[477]

Meanwhile, the Woodward family suffered a loss on 17 August 1829, when Samuel Bayard and Maria's child, Edwin, died at the age of fourteen months. When another boy was born to the couple three years later they named him Edwin after his deceased brother.^[478]

Samuel Bayard and others on 20 September 1829 wrote an appeal to Andrew Jackson, president of the United States, requesting a pardon for convicted mail thief Orrin Shearman who had served four years in jail. The appeal was successful, with Jackson ordering a remission of Shearman's prison sentence on 11 December and a pardon the next day.^[479]

On 22 April 1830 Samuel Bayard advertised a building for rent in Wethersfield:

To Let, An House that for many years has been occupied as a tavern, and is well calculated for an extensive boarding-house, three doors north of the brick meeting house

⁴⁷⁴ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 78.

⁴⁷⁵ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 72.

⁴⁷⁶ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 26.

⁴⁷⁷ "The State Prison Documents," Hartford *Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2–3. See also Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 15.

⁴⁷⁸ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 121.

⁴⁷⁹ Daniel Feller, Harold D. Moser, Laura-Eve Moss, Thomas Coens, editors, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, 11 volumes to date (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980–), 7:757, 777.

in this town, have seventeen rooms on two floors, and has been recently thoroughly repaired, may be had on good terms by applying to Samuel B. Woodward.^[480]

In May 1830, Samuel Bayard made his annual report on the health of the population of the Connecticut State Prison. The report described sicknesses that prevailed the previous summer:

In the month of July, cases of diarrhoea, cholera, and dysentary appeared. In the month of August these cases increased, particularly cases of diarrhoea, to an extent that became alarming. From five to fifteen daily reported themselves sick. In the course of six or eight weeks, three fourths, perhaps I might safely say nine tenths of the convicts, were more or less indisposed.

Three cases of this character proved fatal in four weeks, the subjects of which were active young men of color.

The long continued healthiness of the Prison might, perhaps naturally have led to some remissness in our attention to the first cases of disease. They did not receive that early medication which subsequently proved so salutary. This arose partly from a reluctance on the part of the convict to complain, partly from the manner of reporting the sick, and partly from a misapprehension of the dangerous tendency of the disease—^[481]

Samuel Bayard and his family were counted in the U.S. census of Wethersfield as of 1 June 1830. The household included nineteen people enumerated by age and gender but not by name. Among them were people who fit the ages and genders of members of the Woodward family, which then included Samuel Bayard (age 42), Maria (32), and children Charles (14), Urania (12), Rufus (10), Stanley (8), Henry (7), Samuel (5), and Maria (3). The following people, perhaps tenants occupying ancillary buildings, were also included in the household: five unidentified adult males, two adult females (including a African American woman between the ages of fifty-five and ninety-nine), male and female teenagers, and a male child.^[482] The Woodward home was near the former tavern building Samuel Bayard had recently offered for lease, on Main Street in Wethersfield, just north of the brick First Church of Christ and the intersection of Marsh Street.^[483]

Samuel Bayard kept a farm at the property, according to a New York newspaper, exhibiting his animals at agricultural exhibitions:

⁴⁸⁰ “To Let,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 27 April 1830, 3. The advertisement is dated 22 April 1830.

⁴⁸¹ “The State Prison Documents,” *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2–3.

⁴⁸² United States 1830 Census, Samuel Bayard Woodward family, Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, page 67 (handwritten 132–133), line [18], reel 7.

⁴⁸³ “To Let,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 27 April 1830, 3. See also “Fire in Wethersfield,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 2 August 1831, 3. See also Connecticut Photographs 2014, presumed former site of Samuel Bayard Woodward family residence, Main Street just north of the brick First Church of Christ and the intersection of Marsh Street, Wethersfield, Connecticut, 5 June 2014.

Profitable Cows.— Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, of Weathersfield, took the first premium recently at the Hartford exhibition of Cattle, for having produced two Cows, yielding, in butter, milk, &c. the following result, from the Doctor's statement:—

In May, 110 lbs. 2 oz.; June, 109 lbs. 11 oz.; July, 73 lbs.; August, 80 lbs. 8 oz.; September, 101 lbs. 8 oz.; October, 81 lbs. 12 oz.—total, 576 lbs. 9 oz.

On the 1st. of September, another cow was added, which including what was made last week in April, to wit, 21 lbs. would make 597 lbs. 9 oz. in six months.

Besides all this, milk and cream, have been sold to the amount of \$3, and a family of 16 persons furnished with milk and cream, worth at least \$1 a week, at 4 cents a quart, and pork fed to the amount of a least \$1. Not a pound of butter was sold for less than one shilling per pound.

The cows were fed on grass only after the middle of May, before which time they had rowen hay and two quarts of meal a day. One cow is six years old, the other five years—one is half blood Devonshire, the other common stock.

The value of the milk and butter sold totaled \$144, while calves of the three cows were sold for \$15.75.^[484]

In the autumn of 1830 the problems at the Connecticut State Prison worsened. Samuel Bayard was informed that the well serving the prison population was producing tainted water, apparently as a result of contamination from the drain of the prison kitchen. Samuel Bayard said that he tasted the water when informed of the problem:

In the month of October, 1830, one of the overseers informed me when visiting his family, of the sufferings of the prisoners from bad water. This was on Saturday or Sunday evening. On Monday forenoon when I was at the Prison, I tasted the water. I never tasted so bad water; most offensive to the smell and taste; entirely unfit to drink.^[485]

Josiah A. Obear, an overseer in the prison shoe shop, said that water caused the men working for him to become ill:

I mentioned to Dr. Woodward the bad quality of the water. I saw him taste it the next day, or next one but one; he could not drink it; he gagged.

A day after Samuel Bayard's discovery, Welles ordered a new well dug some distance from the buildings, which produced clean water thereafter.^[486]

In his April 1831 annual report on the health of the prison population, Samuel Bayard noted a suicide and twenty cases of measles. The food provided was inadequate, he said, contending that a diet of cornmeal and bean porridge, potatoes, unleavened bread, and water had yielded 242 cases of "bowel complaints":

⁴⁸⁴ "Profitable Cows," *New York Evening Post*, 30 November 1830, 2.

⁴⁸⁵ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 78.

⁴⁸⁶ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 39.

It is a subject worthy of careful enquiry whether the established diet of the Prison has not a material agency in the production of these diseases.

Samuel Bayard recommended that the prison diet be expanded to include yeast breads, rice, and fish, and that the meals be served hot:

The hash, constituting the morning meal, has often been cold, and the potatoes generally so.

These hints are respectfully suggested for the consideration of the directors. The remarks which have been made, may perhaps convey the idea that the prisoners, as a body are not healthy.^[487]

Samuel Bayard served on a committee of five who reported on the progress of the Hartford Retreat for the Insane in May 1831. A report published in the newspaper was overwhelmingly positive:

It is now seven years since the Retreat was first established, and it must be acknowledged that it has showered blessings upon this community which its most ardent friends dared not anticipate.

A total of 298 patients had been treated at the hospital, the report said.

Many of these had been for years deprived of reason, and the period for their recovery had gone by. But even these have received no common benefit from the institution. They have been kept from harm; while their friends and relatives have been spared from anxieties which exceed all others; and neighborhoods which formerly suffered from the wayward propensities of the insane, have been relieved from depredations to which they were once exposed.^[488]

In June 1831 the feud between the prison wardens and Samuel Bayard and Welles was the subject of items in Connecticut newspapers. An article in the *Hartford Times* said that Welles proposed to the state legislature that Samuel Bayard be appointed to the prison board. The newspaper claimed that the nomination was made with the expectation that Samuel Bayard would vote with Welles to remove Amos Pilsbury, who had recently succeeded his father Moses as warden. In a 3 June letter to the editor of another newspaper, Samuel Bayard denied any foreknowledge of the effort to place him on the board:

Having understood that unfavorable and false reports were busily circulated yesterday concerning my nomination as Director of the State Prison, I take the liberty to state to you, that I had no knowledge whatever that my name was before the house for that appointment, until it had passed both houses, and then been reconsidered; that I did not have one word of conversation respecting the subject, with any member of the

⁴⁸⁷ "The State Prison Documents," *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2–3.

⁴⁸⁸ "Retreat for the Insane," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 21 June 1831, 3.

Legislature, during the session; that I never sought nor wished the appointment; that I never had expressed any unfavorable opinion of the Warden, or one of the Directors, touching their ability to fulfil the duties of their station, neither did I know, till a day or two before the appointment, that there was any intention of making a change in the Board.^[489]

Welles' effort was unsuccessful and Samuel Bayard was not appointed.^[490]

Two months later, on 1 August 1831, a fire burned five Wethersfield houses, including that of Samuel Bayard and his family. A newspaper report suggested that the cause of the blaze was arson:

The fire commenced between 12 and 1 o'clock, in a barn belonging to J. Williams, Esq., and attached to his Dwelling-house near the Meeting-House. It immediately communicated to the adjacent buildings, and was not finally subdued until five Dwelling-houses, and several Barns connected with them were entirely destroyed. The buildings consumed were the house owned and occupied by John Williams, Esq.; Mrs. Tryon's house; Dr. Samuel B. Woodward's house; a large building owned by John Williams, Esq., and formerly occupied as a Tavern; and the house owned and occupied by Miss Brigden. The fire was one of the most destructive, we believe, ever experienced in the towns in this vicinity, and the ruins, extending for some distance on the pleasant street of this delightful village, present a most melancholy appearance. Part of the property was insured. There is too much reason to believe the fire was the work of an incendiary.^[491]

After the fire, Samuel Bayard said that he and his family moved into temporary housing with Charles Clapp II, a stonemason who had helped build the prison:

After my house was burnt in the summer of 1831, I went into the house with Charles Clapp, 2d.^[492]

The Connecticut State Prison was visited by distinguished guests on 5 October 1831. Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont stopped there on their tour of the United States, a tour that would result in Tocqueville's classic work *Democracy in America*. A principle duty of the "French Commissioners" was to report to their government on American prisons.^[493] During a tour, Amos Pilsbury described his methods

⁴⁸⁹ "State Prison," *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 11 June 1831, 2. See also "The Following Letter from Dr. Woodward," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 14 June 1831, 3. See also "A Calumnious Attack," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 7 June 1831, 3. See also *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 4.

⁴⁹⁰ "Recapitulation," *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 25 June 1831, 3.

⁴⁹¹ "Fire in Wethersfield," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 2 August 1831, 3. The description of the buildings suggests that one of those burned may have been the former tavern building Samuel Bayard had earlier advertised for lease, though in the article about the fire the building was said to be owned by John Williams.

⁴⁹² *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 66, 67, 79.

⁴⁹³ George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville in America* (1938; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 442–448.

to the visitors. In a report (excerpted here in translation from the French), Tocqueville and Beaumont compared the prison at Wethersfield to others they had visited:

Wethersfield differs from all the others by its extreme mildness.

Mr. Pillsbury, superintendent of the establishment, has assured us that in the last three years he has only once found himself under the necessity of inflicting stripes. It's a hardship to which resort is only had when it has been well demonstrated that all other softer ways have been tried in vain. Before using it, they try the influence of absolute solitude on the recalcitrant inmate; they shut him up in his cell day and night, without allowing him the resource of work; if we are to believe the employees in the prison, nothing is rarer than to see a prisoner resist this first trial.

However, in the event that he is not cowed from the first instant, some additional hardships are added to his isolation, such as the entire privation of light, the diminution of his food; sometimes his bed is even taken away, etc., etc. If the inmate persists in his resistance then, and then only, is sought in the whip a more effective instrument of submission.^[494]

Two associates of Samuel Bayard later recalled the doctor's activities during the visit of Tocqueville and Beaumont. Prison neighbor Selden Miner claimed that he heard Samuel Bayard discuss the visit:

About a year ago, when the French Commissioners were here, I heard Dr. W. say, that they preferred this Prison to any in the country, and we might safely say we had the best Prison. I don't know whether the remark was intended to apply to the construction, or management, or to be general.^[495]

Another area resident, George Stillman, said that Samuel Bayard was visiting his home when Tocqueville and Beaumont walked by on the road:

In October, 1831, Dr. Woodward was visiting at my house, and spoke of the French Commissioners, who were then here. He said he understood they considered this the best organized Prison they had found, either in this country or Europe. While he was speaking, they passed, and he said, "they are going down to Judge Welles' to dine." I do not know that he had himself seen them, except at a distance, or had spoken with them.^[496]

Samuel Bayard denied making the statement attributed to him by Miner and said that he had missed a chance to meet Tocqueville and Beaumont:

I never told Selden Miner that Amos Pillsbury was a better officer than his father, or got along better, or that the French Commissioners had said that this was the best

⁴⁹⁴ George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville in America* (1938; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 443.

⁴⁹⁵ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 74.

⁴⁹⁶ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 89.

administered Prison. I never saw the French Commissioners, unless at a distance. I had been invited to see them at Judge W.'s, but was called away. I understood they spoke highly of the plan of the Prison, and the system of bye-laws; did not hear that they spoke of the actual administration, as they were here but a very short time, and could not have seen much of it.^[497]

Samuel Bayard delivered an address before the Hartford Temperance Society at the North Church in Hartford, at 7 p.m. on 31 October 1831.^[498] A newspaper reported on the lecture:

An interesting and valuable address was delivered by Dr. Woodward, of Wethersfield, before the Hartford Temperance Society, at the North Church on Monday evening of last week. The remarks on the properties of different kinds of liquors, in their pure and adulterated state, were evidently the result of a careful and scientific investigation, and were calculated to bear with happy effect on the cause of temperance.^[499]

In addition to opposing the consumption of alcohol, Samuel Bayard was ardently against the use of tobacco. One of the doctor's grandsons commented on his attitude towards smoking:

He was a violent opponent of the use of tobacco, not exceeded by King James himself, and no words seemed to him too strong to express disapprobation of the "smoker." Curiously enough, all of his sons smoked.^[500]

In about 1832 Samuel Bayard wrote a treatise on some of the folk remedies that preceded recently developed medical treatments:

Thus the breath of a race horse, stopping from full speed is a common remedy for whooping cough, and rheumatism is treated by boring a hole with an auger on the north side of a red maple tree, cutting all the nail carefully from the fingers and toes and depositing them in the hole, driving a plug firmly after them, and cutting it off closely.^[501]

Despite his difficulties with the wardens, Samuel Bayard continued his work as physician of the state prison. In March 1832 he was a candidate for the Connecticut state senate, a candidacy the editor of the *Hartford Times* interpreted as a new attempt to oust the Pillsburys:

It is very generally known in this community, that Martin Welles, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, has been for some time employed in attempts to injure Mr. Pillsbury, the present Warden of the Connecticut State Prison. During the session of

⁴⁹⁷ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 79.

⁴⁹⁸ "Dr. Woodward of Wethersfield," *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 29 October 1831, 3.

⁴⁹⁹ "An Interesting and Valuable Address," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 8 November 1831, 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 113.

⁵⁰¹ Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 29, citing "S. B. W., 'Origin and Programs of the Medical Science 1832(?),' MS in Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, Vol. II."

the last legislature, a very extraordinary farce was played, in which Judge Welles and Dr. Samuel Woodward were conspicuous actors. A system of fraud was practised, disreputable in the highest degree, the object of which was, to throw the control of the Prison into the hands of Judge Welles and his creatures, who were to make war on Mr. Pillsbury and draw him from his station. Not succeeding in this legislative movement, Judge Welles has devoted no small portion of his time and talents in waging a secret and uncompromising warfare on the Warden. As yet, his efforts have been unsuccessful, and his malignity disappointed.

By management he has procured Dr. Woodward to be nominated to the senate, and is intending to be himself elected to the house. Dr. Woodward was last spring a candidate for commissioner of the State Prison to be associated with Martin Welles. The refusal of the legislature to appoint him, interrupted the plan of destroying Mr. P. and Dr. W. is now brought forward as a candidate for the office of Senator, from District No. 1. Should he be elected an attempt will be made to organize such a board of commissioners as will remove the Warden, and sacrifice the interest of the state. We are not yet prepared to believe that the freemen in this district have lost all independence—that they will aid an interesting aspirant in his malicious and vindictive operations against a faithful and valuable officer.^[502]

Despite the opposition of the *Hartford Times*, Samuel Bayard was elected senator.^[503]

Samuel Bayard recalled that his father Samuel, who had served seven terms in the Connecticut house of representatives, congratulated him upon his election to the state senate:

When his eldest son was elected a member of the Senate of his native State he wrote him a long letter of congratulation Saying amongst other things that he had never expected to live to see the term “Honorable” affixed to the name of one of his children.^[504]

In May 1832, Samuel Bayard again made his annual report on the health of people incarcerated at the prison. In it he said prison officers kept the windows and door to the prison open night and day to air the premises, even during winter nights, a practice that resulted in cases of frostbite:

Three or four of the prisoners have had their feet more or less frozen, one severely,—which confined him from his labor a considerable time, as will appear by the Hospital records.

The mode pursued the past winter, of opening the windows in the coldest weather to ventilate the Hall, while two stoves were kept burning to warm it; is repugnant both to correct philosophy and good economy^[505]

⁵⁰² “It is Very Generally Known,” *Hartford [Connecticut] Times*, 5 March 1832, 3.

⁵⁰³ *Roll of State Officers*, 272. Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 110, errs in dating Samuel Bayard’s senate service to 1830.

⁵⁰⁴ Samuel Woodward Obituary Manuscript, 93.

⁵⁰⁵ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 4–5, 8–9.

Samuel Bayard later expanded on his description of the frozen feet of one of the people under his care:

When I first saw Whitman's feet, their appearance indicated a recent freezing, were not then mortified. In about 36 or 48 hours, became gangrenous, very offensive, and a piece as large as a dollar, came out. This was during the coldest weather of the last winter. The other cases I saw later. Have no doubt at all, that Whitman's case was one of recent frost.^[506]

The two prison board members who served with Welles responded to Samuel Bayard's report by drafting a written response to the legislature in which they expressed surprise at his statements and claimed they were unaware of his concerns during the winter. Welles summarized the written response as follows:

the Report contained a clause impliedly censuring Dr. Woodward, on account of the facts and opinions given in his statement, respecting the suffering of the prisoners from cold. This clause expressed the surprise of the Directors, that these facts had not been made known to them before; and that until they saw this statement, it had not been intimated to them, that there was any such suffering from cold; and stated that the Directors had examined the officers of the Prison, and from them had learned, that the apartments had been kept sufficiently warm.

When the response was in draft form, Samuel Bayard informed the board that his sole purpose had been to inform the directors of the situation. Since they now knew the full particulars, he saw no need to include details in his public annual report and "expressed his readiness to erase from his Report, the entire remarks respecting the cold and frozen feet; or to destroy the Report altogether." The prison board members rejected that proposal and insisted on presenting the medical report and their response to the legislature.^[507]

Welles refused to sign his colleagues' repudiation of Samuel Bayard's actions and submitted a dissenting response of his own, calling their characterizations of the doctor's actions "uncalled for and gratuitous." Welles claimed that cell block doors and windows were kept open on winter nights when the temperature fell to zero degrees even though Samuel Bayard had earlier noted his concerns in written entries in the prison log book:

These entries were sufficient notice to the Warden and Directors of the nature of the complaints, and comprised all which the Physician was bound to do; and it has appeared singular, that with these entries before them, a majority of the Directors should have chosen to cast any imputation upon the Physician, or even express their surprise that the condition of the men was not made known to them at an earlier day.^[508]

⁵⁰⁶ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 78.

⁵⁰⁷ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 5.

⁵⁰⁸ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 5, 9–10.

In May 1832 the legislature received Samuel Bayard's report, the board members' response, and Welles' dissenting response, along with a petition from Pilsbury requesting an investigation. The legislature responded by replacing all three members of the prison board and appointing a three-member panel to investigate. Welles would later charge that the resolution nominating those who would serve on the investigatory panel was biased and written "in the handwriting of the Counsel of Amos Pilsbury." Amos Pilsbury was suspended on 4 September 1832 and an interim warden appointed. An investigation into Pilsbury's conduct began on 2 October.^[509]

In hearings that followed, numerous witnesses testified or submitted depositions. Samuel Bayard was one of those who submitted a written description of his experience at the prison, a document that was published in the press. In it he abandoned the diplomatic language of his earlier reports, charging that the warden and deputy warden pressured him to mislead the prison board in his medical reports, blocked his attempts to care for the ill, withheld food from the hungry, and refused work relief for the sick:

many prisoners met with such harsh language and abusive treatment if they complained of illness, that they resolved to die at their labor, rather than make known their complaints.

Samuel Bayard provided specifics about people under his care, whom he called "truly unfortunate men" who were "treated by the Warden with great cruelty." The perpetrator of the abuse, he said, was Amos Pilsbury:

for this neglect and abuse the then Deputy Warden was principally responsible—as to him belonged the duty of taking care of the sick. Should the inquiry be made, why I did not expose the conduct of the officers to the public, the answer is that it was my duty to notify the Directors and not the public. And also that it was my sincere wish as the friend of the Prison, that the abuses might be corrected silently, rather than that any public excitement be produced.

I do distinctly say, that in some cases of sickness, the treatment has been cruel, and any attempts to correct it, have been met with decided hostility and abuse.^[510]

Several witnesses supported Samuel Bayard's account of conditions at the prison. One of those was Dr. Alvan Talcott, who served as one of his assistants. Talcott described Amos Pilsbury's treatment of an ill man named Smith after Smith was examined by Samuel Bayard:

After he was examined Dr. Woodward told him he might go back to his cell. He said he wanted to go home. Pilsbury then seized him by the throat and choked him, threw him down upon the brick pavement with great violence and was in a great passion, held him there by the throat and occasionally lifted up his head and thrust or jammed

⁵⁰⁹ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 5–7, 20.

⁵¹⁰ "From the New England Review, of June 25," *Hartford Connecticut Mirror*, 7 July 1832, 2–3. See also *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 14–16, 27.

it down again upon the pavement. Smith was a pale and feeble man and much emaciated.^[511]

Dr. R. H. Salter was another assistant who helped Samuel Bayard care for incarcerated people at the prison. Salter testified that Samuel Bayard was treated with “gross insult” when he ordered that better food be served to an ill man:

Simons, who had been a long time sick, and whose complaint terminated fatally, had no other bread but such as was sour and mouldy for several days in succession, and he could not eat it. The same piece was given to him day after day, and was not touched by him. At length the Physician ordered “better bread for Simons,” and made that entry in his book—at our visit, next day, Dr. W. not being present, I was asked who made the entry, myself or Dr. W. I answered that Dr. W. had ordered the entry to be made. I then was requested to inform Dr. W. that if he ever made another such entry, he should no longer be Physician, or it would be the last entry he should make.

Salter said that Samuel Bayard and his assistants often discussed the situation at the prison:

This morose disposition of Capt. Pilsbury was a subject of frequent conversation in Dr. Woodward’s office.^[512]

An overseer in one of the prison workshops, Joseph M. Morrison, testified that one of his workers died soon after being refused access to Samuel Bayard:

his legs were much swollen, he complained that they ached and were very painful. Mr. Pilsbury however kept him at work. At one time this prisoner applied to A. P. and shewed his legs to him, said he was in great distress, and unable to work; asked to see the Physician, and shed tears. Amos ordered him back to his work and threatened him when he complained, told him to go to his work, if not he would punish him.^[513]

Another overseer, Hylas Styles, reported on the experiences of a third overseer:

Mr. Newton the Overseer of the Chair Shop appeared to be well respected by the Warden and Deputy, until he reported to Doctor Woodward that he had a number of men in his Shop who were sick and complaining, and almost unable to stand by their benches; this very much offended these officers and Mr. Newton became at once the subject of ridiculous slander, particularly by Amos Pilsbury. About this time the Warden and Deputy Warden began to manifest a bitterness toward Dr. Woodward. I took an opportunity to converse with Dr. Woodward, at my house, he seemed reluctant to enter upon the subject; he expressed his opinion that the sick had not received proper attention; that there was something wrong. From this time Dr. Woodward was spoken of in terms of hostility and abuse by these same officers.^[514]

⁵¹¹ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 31–32.

⁵¹² Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 16–18.

⁵¹³ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 43.

⁵¹⁴ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 50.

John S. Peters, a former member of the prison board, in the course of his testimony stated that Samuel Bayard's good reputation as a doctor was well known:

Dr. Woodward as a physician undoubtedly stands in the very first rank—should have great confidence in him in his opinion.^[515]

Several witnesses friendly to the warden also testified. Deputy Warden Daniel S. Purdy stated in his testimony that he, rather than Pilsbury, had surreptitiously replaced the medicine of an incarcerated man with pills made of bread. He said he did it as “an experiment” to see if the man was feigning illness:

A prisoner by the name of Barlow from the shoe shop had been complaining for a long time, and had taken medicine. He applied to the Doctor in the hall one day; said he was not as well as he had been. The Dr. ordered him pills (nitrate of silver) stronger than those he had been taking. I thought I would try an experiment; I told the nurse to prepare 60 pills of bread like those which the Dr. had ordered, and give them to Barlow. He took the bread pills two days and I then gave him the medicine the Dr. had ordered. B. said he felt better. The Physician was not informed that bread pills had been given until some months after this; Mr. Pilsbury told me I had done wrong. B's complaint was palpitation of the heart.^[516]

Purdy also said he denied another man bedding as a punishment:

Niver was put into his cell for punishment because he did not do his task; was deprived of his bed and bedding several days and nights; this was in the winter of 1831; was cold weather; punishment in cold weather was considerably aggravated; men had nothing to sleep on but stone or brick floor of cell. He complained of sickness. Dr. Woodward prescribed for him; this was after he had been in punishment without his bed or bedding. Dr. Woodward did not say to me to return him his bed; though there is an entry in Hospital Record, “Give Niver his bed.”^[517]

William Smith, a teamster who delivered freight to the prison, said in cross examination that “I have taken part in the controversy in favor of Pilsbury.” He testified that

I have heard Dr. Woodward say, that the elder P. was very kind to the sick; said the poor in our Poor House, were not so well taken care of, as the prisoners; that the rations were sufficient. Poor families are not so well clothed as the prisoners; should not blame a poor man, for stealing a horse, for the sake of getting into the Prison.^[518]

Another sympathetic witness was Lois Pilsbury, mother of Amos, who testified that she and her daughters helped care for the sick at the prison and that Samuel Bayard complimented the efforts of one daughter:

⁵¹⁵ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 60.

⁵¹⁶ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 61.

⁵¹⁷ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 63–64.

⁵¹⁸ Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet, 70.

I was always particular to see that the sick should be attended to, and when I was unable my daughters attended; Dr. W. said Abigail was very attentive, and they were grateful^[519]

In May 1833 the committee investigating Pilsbury's conduct issued a report exonerating him. The committee ruled that while mistakes were made and bylaws were breached by the warden, the mistakes and breaches had been corrected and none were so egregious as to warrant dismissal. Amos Pilsbury was reinstated as warden on 6 June 1833.^[520]

In 1834 Welles published a pamphlet detailing his case against Pilsbury. One of the arguments he made was that Samuel Bayard's testimony was ignored by the panel:

Mr. Pilsbury's treatment of the sick was proved throughout with more clearness and distinctness, if possible, than any other charge. On this subject there is no contradictory testimony. The account of his conduct to the sick as detailed by Dr. Woodward, is of itself sufficient to place this matter at rest. The whole history of the Prison controversy is there given—the conduct of both the Messrs. Pilsburys—the efforts of Mr. Welles to have the sick attended to—the Hospital regulation, and the obstacles which were interposed to its execution. Wherever Dr. Woodward is known, his testimony will carry conviction to the mind, and during this investigation there has not been even an attempt made to disprove it in any particular except it be the feeble effort to show that Dr. W. did not, in his extensive practice, proclaim publicly what he had witnessed, and that he endeavored by an easy influence to procure a correction of the evils, and that he did not always speak the language of disapprobation. The testimony of Dr. Woodward is confirmed by every witness.^[521]

The pamphlet had no effect and Pilsbury remained warden of the prison until 1845.^[522]

On 26 September 1832, a week before the Connecticut State Prison hearings took place, Samuel Bayard was appointed to the post of superintendent of the new Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts.^[523] The hospital was the first state hospital for people with psychiatric illness in Massachusetts, approved by the state legislature in May 1830 after a campaign by reformer Horace Mann.^[524] Samuel Bayard removed from Wethersfield to Worcester in December 1832 and “moved into the Hospital as soon as some of the rooms could be furnished for the reception of his

⁵¹⁹ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 76.

⁵²⁰ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 6, 93–119. See also “Report of the Committee, Appointed in 1832 on the Connecticut State Prison,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 20 May 1833, 2.

⁵²¹ *Wethersfield Prison Hearing Pamphlet*, 104. For the attribution of authorship to Welles, see Denis R. Caron, *A Century in Captivity: The Life and Trials of Prince Mortimer, a Connecticut Slave* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006), 143–144.

⁵²² Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 94.

⁵²³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Stephen Salisbury, “Extract from the Record of the Monthly Visitation,” excerpted in Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, “Eighteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 10.

⁵²⁴ Grob, “Practice of Psychiatry,” 421.

family.”^[525] The Woodward family would reside in an apartment on the third floor of the hospital for the next thirteen years.^[526] At the same time a newly arrived physician announced that he had moved into a Wethersfield house Samuel Bayard had built after his home was destroyed in the 1831 fire. On 11 December Dr. A. Welch announced that he had “opened an Office in the House recently erected by Samuel B. Woodward, M. D., and respectfully offers his services to the Inhabitants of Wethersfield.”^[527]

The appointment of Samuel Bayard to the hospital post was made after the Massachusetts state legislature fixed his compensation at \$1,200 per year and agreed to provide the furnished apartment, fuel, provisions, and the services of a chambermaid. Earlier legislation that did not specify salary and benefits was criticized by some, as it was feared

the Superintendent might, from the ‘stores’ of the Hospital, clothe himself and his family, sport his champagne and madeira, et caeteris similibus, do many things abominable in the eyes of the good people of the Commonwealth.^[528]

When Samuel Bayard left his private practice, he gave up an estimated annual income of \$5,000.^[529] In his private work he charged fifty cents to \$1.40 per house call and seven cents per mile for travel. In 1830 he had assets of \$13,000.^[530] Samuel Bayard’s salary at the hospital would be raised to \$1,800 in 1839.^[531]

On 1 January 1833, Stephen Mix Mitchell, a former member of the Continental Congress, wrote the governor of Massachusetts from Wethersfield to congratulate him on “so judicious a selection” as Samuel Bayard to run the state hospital:

After an intimate acquaintance of twenty years, I do not hesitate to pronounce him a most valuable acquisition to any Community, as it regards his moral Excellence and professional skill. The Sweetness and gentleness of his Temper peculiarly qualify him to administer to the unhappy subjects of his Care. To us in this Village the loss is irreparable. Nothing could reconcile us to his leaving this place but the hope that his sphere of usefulness may be more extensive and that his own happiness and that of his family may be more effectually secured^[532]

⁵²⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 18.

⁵²⁶ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 72.

⁵²⁷ “Dr. A. Welch,” *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 18 December 1832, 4. The advertisement is dated 11 December.

⁵²⁸ Grob, Worcester State Hospital, 40–41, citing “Alfred D. Foster to Mann, October 29, 1832, Mann Papers, MHS.”

⁵²⁹ Grob, Worcester State Hospital, 48, citing “Horace Porter to Woodward, October 5, 1832, Woodward Papers, AAS; *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XII (March 11, 1835), 80.”

⁵³⁰ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 49, citing “‘Ledger of D. Samuel B. Woodward’ (1830), Yale University Library.”

⁵³¹ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 72.

⁵³² Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 113–114.

On the same day a Hartford newspaper published a card of thanks, reporting 670 residents had signed the following message:

During his long residence among us, we have never ceased to love and respect him as a gentleman of great urbanity and philanthropy, and of distinguished eminence in his profession. His multiplied and kind attentions to us, both in sickness and in health, place us under lasting obligations of gratitude.

That the Institution over which he is called to preside may long enjoy his professional skill and talents—that his own happiness, and that of his family, may be greatly augmented, is the sincere desire of each of the undersigned.^[533]

On 8 January 1833 Samuel Bayard's agent in Wethersfield, Samuel Galpin, announced that he would be available each Tuesday through the winter to meet with any who had outstanding accounts to settle with the doctor.^[534]

The first patient arrived at the Worcester hospital on 19 January 1833.^[535] He was a stonecutter from Cape Cod who had been imprisoned there and during his time behind bars had "determined to assassinate the jailor." Samuel Bayard reported that the first patient continued to be dangerous after his arrival at Worcester:

After he came to the hospital, he prepared two nails, eight or nine inches long, which he sharpened by rubbing them on the granite window-stool and covering the head with a ball of cloth, making them very dangerous weapons. With these instruments under his pillow he feigned sickness and asked for gruel, that his attendant might be off his guard and come near to him, thus affording him a better chance to effect his desperate purpose. The instruments were discovered and taken from him without injury to any one. He afterwards declared it was his intention to stab his attendant when he brought him the gruel. He afterwards made a most desperate assault on another attendant, from which a severe conflict ensued, in which both himself and attendant were severely injured.^[536]

By the end of 1833, 164 patients had been admitted to the hospital.^[537] Eight of the first forty patients were convicted murderers.^[538] One of those was a man who arrived in February 1833. Samuel Bayard reported later that it took three years for trust to build between them:

⁵³³ "A Card," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 1 January 1833, 3. See also *Lincoln, History of Worcester*, 219–220, citing *Massachusetts Spy*, 16 January 1833.

⁵³⁴ "Notice," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 15 January 1833, 4. The notice is dated 8 January.

⁵³⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," first report, 1833 (published 1834), 4.

⁵³⁶ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Tenth Report," tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 92–93.

⁵³⁷ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," first report, 1833 (published 1834), 4–5.

⁵³⁸ *Grob, Worcester State Hospital*, 49, citing "Woodward to Eli Todd, March 13, 1833, Institute of Living MS. Collection (Library of the Institute of Living, Hartford, Connecticut)."

For some time he appeared ferocious and obstinate, and was watched very narrowly. He had been in close confinement six years, for a distressing homicide, by which he had, in a temporary paroxysm of jealousy, killed his wife. As the months passed by, he became less jealous, more docile, and finally became a suitable person for employment under vigilant surveillance. The first year, we did not trust him; the second, we gave him more latitude; and the third, he secured our confidence.

After living in the hospital for almost a decade and working in its shops, Samuel Bayard reported in 1841, the man continued to have symptoms of psychiatric illness but appeared happy:

Few men enjoy themselves better than this man; he is kind in his feelings, industrious, temperate in his habits, and has all the liberty for which he asks. He makes baskets and whips, helps to take care of the stock and cultivate the garden, and kills rats.^[539]

Less than two months after the opening of the hospital, a man named Howard Trask was sent to the hospital from a Boston jail. Trask had a violent criminal past. He and an accomplice were tried in the 1821 beating death of a cellmate. The other man was convicted and Trask was found not guilty by reason of insanity, an illness said to have been caused by a childhood head injury. The verdict resulted in Trask's indefinite incarceration. While in jail in 1822 he used a makeshift knife to kill two sleeping cellmates. Trask managed to escape in 1823 but was soon recaptured.^[540]

Samuel Bayard wrote to Horace Mann on 11 March 1833 to report on the arrival of Trask seven weeks after the opening of the hospital. Upon arrival, the doctor said, the new patient was released from all restraints:

Trask is in our wing, without chains associating with our better class of patients as yet perfectly quiet and peaceable.— We well knew that the public opinion is very decidedly against Trask and we have felt some solicitude that that opinion would be decidedly against this indulgence— The Steward and myself soon made up our minds to have no personal fear of Trask— We stated our intentions to our attendants and the More intelligent of the patients in the gallery—they all declared themselves quite willing to receive him—we have enjoined on them great Vigilance and are determined to watch him closely ourselves— My motive I will briefly state to you. I found Trask an

⁵³⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Ninth Report," ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 75.

⁵⁴⁰ A summary of Howard Trask's criminal career is provided in "Howard Trask," *Salem* [Massachusetts] *Gazette*, 11 August 1829, 2. See also "Passages in the Life of Trask," *Newburyport* [Massachusetts] *Herald*, 10 May 1833, 1. For additional information on events previous to his arrival at the Worcester state hospital, see "The Supreme Judicial Court," Boston *Columbian Centinel*, 29 December 1821, 2. See also "On Thursday, Samuel Green and Howard Trask," Dedham, Massachusetts, *Village Register*, 11 January 1822, 3. See also "A Most Horrid Transaction," Boston *Daily Advertiser*, 9 September 1822, 2. See also "A Shocking and Barbarous Act," Salem, Massachusetts, *Essex Register*, 11 September 1822, 2. See also "Remarkable Escape," *Salem* [Massachusetts] *Gazette*, 24 January 1823, 3. See also "Howard Trask," Boston *Daily Advertiser*, 27 January 1823, 2. See also "Trask Retaken," *Salem* [Massachusetts] *Gazette*, 28 January 1823, 3. See also "Howard Trask," Salem, Massachusetts, *Essex Register*, 29 January 1823, 2. See also "State Legislature," *Newburyport* [Massachusetts] *Herald*, 12 February 1830, 2. See also "State Legislature," *Newburyport* [Massachusetts] *Herald*, 23 February 1830, 2.

active, intelligent, artful man—of good natural powers but very ignorant, he has been an outcast from all human society for twenty years or more—looked upon as a Demon in fact, been exhibited as a show—to the gaze of the Vulgar and the abuse of all who felt disposed to provoke or irritate him. The only law that he has Known has been the law of force, inflicted by the petty tyrant under whose immediate control he has been placed—I was well satisfied that unless we could make a different chord vibrate in his heart he would be to us a very troublesome inmate. I determined to try the law of Kindness which in an experience of 8 years in the “Retreat” & Connecticut State Prison I have found the most effectual control for moral and mental alienation—^[541]

Trask’s stay at the Worcester hospital turned out to be brief. On 15 April he escaped in the night, as reported in local newspapers:

Howard Trask, the desperate maniac, (so considered) and for many years confined in Boston Jail, was removed about a fortnight ago to the Lunatic Hospital in Worcester. A strong and secure cell was to have been ready for his reception on Tuesday, but on Monday night he just sawed his door in two below the lock, and made his escape. \$50 reward is offered for his apprehension. Thus the man who could find means to break the strongest fetters, and twist them into any shape, was left secured by a (we suppose common) wooden door.^[542]

Trask’s clothes were soon discovered near his mother’s house in Keene, New Hampshire. By May the reward for his capture was increased to \$200:

The idea that a character at once so artful and so blood-thirsty is now loose among them, is one which may well excite a thrill of horror among the inhabitants of the town where he is supposed to be lurking.^[543]

In May a newspaper reported that the escapee had been captured in western Massachusetts:

Trask Caught. The Worcester Yeoman states that Howard Trask has at length been captured in New Salem, in Franklin County. He was discovered lurking about in that neighborhood, and when pursued he defended himself for some time by threatening his assailants with a knife. As a last resort he was knocked down by a sturdy yeoman and secured.^[544]

The man captured in New Salem was not Trask, however.^[545]

⁵⁴¹ Samuel Bayard Woodward to Horace Mann, 11 March 1833, [1]–[2], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁵⁴² “By Last Evening’s Mail,” Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 18 April 1833, 3. See also “Howard Trask,” *Newburyport* [Massachusetts] *Herald*, 19 April 1833, 2.

⁵⁴³ “Howard Trask,” *Newburyport* [Massachusetts] *Herald*, 7 May 1833, 5. See also “Howard Trask,” *Portsmouth New Hampshire Gazette*, 7 May 1833, 2. See also “The Reward for the Apprehension,” *New Bedford* [Massachusetts] *Mercury*, 10 May 1833, 1.

⁵⁴⁴ “Trask Caught,” *Salem* [Massachusetts] *Gazette*, 7 May 1833, 2.

⁵⁴⁵ “Error.— Trask has Not been Taken,” Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 16 May 1833, 2.

A second man thought to be the escapee was brought from Connecticut to Worcester. Samuel Bayard was awakened in the middle of the night to identify the captured man:

One night last week the Superintendent of the Hospital was aroused by two persons who said they had Trask with them, and wished to deliver him up and receive the promised reward. Inquiry was made of them if their prisoner was minus two fingers of the left hand, they replied that two of his fingers were once cut off but that the pieces had been replaced, and were now grown on again—they were told this Trask would not do; whereupon they discharged their prisoner, whom they had brought all the way from Woodstock, Conn. and made their way back with all convenient despatch. The man they seized protested that his name was not Trask, but to no purpose, the scars upon his fingers were to his captors convincing proof to the contrary.^[546]

Trask was never retaken. A report in July suggested that he went to Canada, while another in December speculated that he might have been responsible for an unsolved Rhode Island murder.^[547]

A decade later, in 1842, Samuel Bayard wrote an account of Trask's case in which he did not mention that he had removed all restraints from him upon his arrival at the hospital. In the later account, the superintendent instead emphasized that he had warned the governor that Trask might escape if sent to the hospital:

Having learned his desperate character, I wrote to the governor of the State, requesting that T— might be detained in prison, as we had no place sufficiently strong to hold him, if he chose to get out.

In the 1842 account, Samuel Bayard also reported the rumor that Trask later lived in northern New England or Canada:

Since his escape, it has been reported that T— has married and settled upon the “disputed territory,” within or near the Canadian border, where he is cultivating his farm unmolested, a quiet, peaceable citizen.^[548]

Samuel Bayard again wrote of Trask in 1844, stating then that strong rooms are necessary at state hospitals to protect the public from dangerous patients:

There may always be some cases of this character, in large public institutions, which cannot be too closely guarded, and for these there should be a few strong apartments, that the public may feel secure, and that such dangerous persons may not regain their liberty. Such was the notorious Trask, who escaped from our strong apartments,

⁵⁴⁶ “Trask,” *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 20 May 1833, 1.

⁵⁴⁷ “It is Believed that Trask,” *Newburyport [Massachusetts] Herald*, 23 July 1833, 2. See also “Trask,” *Newburyport [Massachusetts] Herald*, 27 December 1833, 2.

⁵⁴⁸ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Tenth Report,” tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 81–82.

which, on the first inspection, he declared to be like cobwebs, compared with those he left in Boston.^[549]

Also in 1844 Samuel Bayard was criticized for Trask's escape by editors of a Boston journal who believed that the escapee had feigned psychiatric illness to avoid punishment for his crimes:

Trask was removed to that institution for security, and, as contemplated by the theory of legal benevolence, for mental restoration. He soon bid farewell to Dr. Woodward—and it has never been ascertained whither he went or where he now abides. From the very beginning of Trask's atrocities, we believed him perfectly sane.^[550]

About the same time that Trask was at the hospital, Samuel Bayard wrote an essay on the character of evil:

We are permitted to indulge the hope that evil will at some time, cease to be the inheritance of physical life. This will not require the aid of miracles. Natural and moral evil will cease together, when man shall have learned the laws of his constitution, the nature, extent and proper use of his intellectual and moral powers, and shall have acquired a knowledge of the means which Infinite Wisdom has provided for his happiness.^[551]

By April 1833 the admission of African American patients to the hospital prompted the construction of segregated quarters within the hospital brick shop.^[552]

In the summer of 1833, six months after the opening of the hospital, a newspaper article described a tour given by Samuel Bayard:

On entering the halls we were struck with the air of neatness and quiet that pervaded them. The patients, who are usually found in the halls, are well dressed, and apparently much gratified with their quarters. They generally return the salutation of visitors, when introduced to them by the Superintendent, with well-bred civility, and readily enter into conversation. There are several, however, who rarely, if ever converse. The females occupy two halls in the north wing, and employ themselves in knitting and sewing, excepting a few who are less tractable. The mildness and suavity of manner observed towards them all by the Superintendent, must have had a powerful influence in assuaging the symptoms of the more violent cases, and we are told that at least twenty men who were brought to the Hospital in irons, are now in the habit of laboring cheerfully about the premises.

⁵⁴⁹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Twelfth Report," twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 38–39.

⁵⁵⁰ "Insanity an Apology for Crime," editorial, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 30 (19 June 1844): 404–405.

⁵⁵¹ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 46, citing "Woodward, 'History of the Medical Sciences' (c. 1833), Woodward Papers, AAS."

⁵⁵² Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 50, citing "Bezaleel Taft, Jr., to Mann, April 14, 1833, William B. Calhoun to Mann, June 28, 1833, Mann Papers, MHS."

One patient named Peter Sibley had been found not guilty by reason of insanity in a trial for murder and held in a county jail for sixteen years before coming to the hospital, the newspaper reported:

For a long series of years, the light of heaven had scarcely dawned in upon him. He was confined in a dark cell of the prison and his situation was spoken of as indescribably loathsome and wretched. His beard was unshaven, his body attenuated to a mere skeleton, and his mental and physical powers evidently in ruins. He was not merely suffering from ordinary aberrations of mind, but he was afflicted with all the dreadful ravings of a madman. To keep him clothed was deemed an impossibility, and he was suffered to remain in his dungeon with only a few tattered rags and some filthy straw about him. When the Lunatic Hospital was opened, he was taken from his cell, his long matted beard shaved, his body thoroughly cleansed and a coarse suit of strong cloth put upon him. His former keeper remarked it would all avail nothing, for he would never wear clothes, but would still remain the same furious lunatic and raving madman he ever was. When he arrived at the Asylum, he was placed under the care and management of the judicious Dr. Woodward, Superintendent of the Institution. He was then shown his room and told how pleasant and airy it was compared with the dark, offensive one he had just left. His personal pride was flattered when he was told how well he looked in his new clothes, an object of envy as he was to the other prisoners. He examined himself carefully, looked at his garments and exhibited quite a degree of pride and self-complacency.

He became pleased with his room and his situation, and the kind treatment and soothing manners of the Superintendent has changed him into one of the most docile, cleanly and promising inmates of the hospital. He appeared to us passive and kind hearted, and any thing else rather than the demon they supposed him to be, when confined, naked and filthy, a hideous object in the county prison.^[553]

Early in 1833 Dr. John S. Butler made an extended visit to the Worcester hospital. Samuel Bayard's treatment of patients made a lasting impression on the visiting physician, according to a newspaper reporter. A particular case caught the attention of Butler and the reporter as Samuel Bayard led them on a tour of the hospital:

While standing with him in the entrance hall, a party of his patients passed in from a walk. The doctor stopped them to give an order to their attendant, and Dr. Butler's attention was especially drawn to the pitiable appearance of the laggard of the group. Feeble and emaciated, he seemed to be a hopeless remainder of a man. He was a young Welshman, who had come to this country "to pick up gold in our streets." Unable to find work or wages, hearing sad news from his home, in Wales, through homesickness he had sunk into the deepest melancholy. "Poor fellow," said Dr. Butler, "his is an utterly hopeless case." "By no means," answered Dr. Woodward. "But I mean *him*," pointing to the patient, "he cannot recover!" "I confidently expect he will," replied Dr. W.

⁵⁵³ "The State Lunatic Hospital," *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 29 July 1833, 3.

After observing Samuel Bayard's treatment of the patient for several weeks, Butler was visited by the patient just prior to his discharge:

In a few weeks he came down to Dr. B.'s office to bid him a grateful good-bye, etc., there presenting himself, in contrast with his first interview, a rarely good specimen of a healthy, vigorous and intelligent young man. This case shaped the future of Dr. B.'s professional life.^[554]

Another patient at the hospital, James Shurtleff, had been found not guilty by reason of insanity after murdering his wife. Shurtleff would reside at the hospital for a dozen years. During his residency he became the center of a dispute between the town of Carver, which was charged for his care, and the hospital and state legislature. The people of Carver, who realized that Shurtleff could be housed more cheaply in a county jail, petitioned for his removal. After the town finally won the right to have him removed, the hospital trustees agreed to keep him without charge. Carver then petitioned for the return of payments made over the previous years, a petition that was opposed by Samuel Bayard and ultimately denied by the state legislature.^[555]

Soon after his move to Worcester, Samuel Bayard was offered but declined the superintendency of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane upon the death of its founding superintendent, Dr. Eli Todd. During his time in Worcester he declined several such offers, including an 1835 offer to superintend the McLean Asylum, then located in Charlestown, Massachusetts.^[556]

On 5 December 1833, Jane C. Rider of Springfield, Massachusetts, was admitted to the hospital. Rider was a local sensation who became known as the "sleeping girl" and the "Springfield Somnambulist." Perhaps as a result of a location on her head that was sensitive to touch, she entered sleepwalking states in which she recited poetry, read while blindfolded, and played games. Upon waking she claimed no memory of those activities.^[557]

Newspapers reported that Rider was sent to the hospital to be treated by Samuel Bayard:

She is now at the Hospital in Worcester, under the care of Dr. Woodward; and we learn with satisfaction, by a communication received from him by Dr. Belden, that his observations perfectly confirm the accounts which we have heretofore given of the case. Similar experiments to those that were made here, have been made by Dr. Woodward, and the results have been the same.^[558]

⁵⁵⁴ "The Segregate System and the Individualized Treatment of the Insane," *Weekly Medical Review* 14 (20 November 1886): 565.

⁵⁵⁵ *Grob, Worcester State Hospital*, 88–89, citing "Mass. Senate Document No. 62 (March 14, 1838), pp. 7–10," and "Mass. House Document No. 52 (March 12, 1845), pp. 4–10."

⁵⁵⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 111.

⁵⁵⁷ Belden, *Springfield Somnambulist*, 65–92, 114–119.

⁵⁵⁸ "The Case of the Somnambulist," *Haverhill [Massachusetts] Gazette*, 4 January 1834, 3. See also "The Accounts which have been Given," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 2 December 1833, 2.

At the hospital, Rider continued to have her sleeping spells, or “paroxysms.” While in her sleeping state, she read pages despite a heavy blindfold, walked about blindfolded, and learned to play backgammon. Samuel Bayard, in his daily log of her care, suggested that the spells might have been “occasioned by improper food, particularly by the free use of fruit.” He tried several treatments of the sensitive site on her head, including bloodsucking leeches:

During the last paroxysm I applied leeches to her head. She waked during the paroxysm, not a little surprised at her new head ornaments.

Samuel Bayard reported in February 1834 that Rider’s spells had largely ceased.^[559] Rider was apparently discharged from the hospital soon after that date.

At about this time Samuel Bayard served as an expert witness at the trial of Abraham Prescott, who killed “Mrs. Cochran, his foster mother,” as they were in a meadow picking strawberries. Prescott claimed no memory of the event, according to Samuel Bayard:

I was present as a witness at the last trial, and examined the young man with some care, and both witnessed his appearance during the trial and asked him questions after the adjournment of the court. He appeared dull, stupid, and unconcerned, and less anxious than the assembled multitude around him.

I believe that Prescott was insane, and wholly irresponsible at the time he committed the homicide.

The jury disagreed, and Prescott was convicted and executed.^[560]

At the close of 1833, the trustees of the hospital issued their first annual report, lauding the skill of Samuel Bayard as the reason for a successful first year:

The suggestions of the Superintendent derive great weight from his extensive knowledge and accurate judgment upon the subject of insanity; and the Trustees entertain a firm belief, that the prosperity of the Institution, since it was opened, (unanticipated to such an extent even by its most sanguine friends) is mainly attributable to the skilfulness and wisdom of the treatment, medical and moral, bestowed upon the patients by that able officer.^[561]

In the superintendent’s section of the report, Samuel Bayard provided a detailed portrait of the hospital population during the first year of operation. Patients ranged in age from sixteen to eighty-six; sixty-three percent were male; five were African American. Most were American, but some came from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, and Haiti. During the year, four died, one escaped, and thirty-four became

⁵⁵⁹ Belden, *Springfield Somnambulist*, 67–69, 83–84, 91.

⁵⁶⁰ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Note By the Superintendent,” supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 178–180.

⁵⁶¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, “Report,” first report, 1833 (published 1834), 13–14.

well enough to be discharged. The “supposed cause” of illness was given for each patient. Many cases were blamed on “Intemperance,” but others were said to be caused by “Wound on the Head,” “Disappointed Affection,” “Loss of Property,” “Excessive Venereal Indulgence,” “Family Trouble,” “Disappointment in Marriage,” “Abuse of Parent,” “Hard Study,” “Religious Fanaticism,” “Fear of Poverty,” “Jealous of her Husband,” “Abuse of Husband,” “Loss of Husband,” “Dread of Future Punishment,” “Solicitude for Sick Child,” and “Pecuniary Embarrassment.”^[562]

Samuel Bayard wrote that because the state hospital was mandated to accept all patients sent by state courts, the rate of recovery was likely to be slower than at private hospitals. He lobbied the legislature to construct new buildings for the institution. The first year was difficult, he wrote, as intractable cases were sent from jails across the state:

During the past year, the duties of those who have had the immediate management of the Hospital have been peculiarly arduous; such a collection of patients so “furiously mad,” and so dangerous to manage, were probably rarely ever brought into any one Hospital, in so short a period.

Nevertheless, the year was a good beginning, the superintendent said:

This enterprise is now fairly begun. It is to be hoped that it has thus far satisfied public expectation. The advantages of this Hospital, although principally prospective, have not been unimportant to its numerous inmates.^[563]

On 7 January 1834 Samuel Bayard became a member of the Worcester Fire Society, a volunteer brigade that fought local fires. He served until 2 October 1837, when he resigned “in consequence of the difficulty of his attending the meetings and of the impossibility of his attending fires in consequence of the excitement of his household during an alarm of fire.”^[564]

In February 1834, phrenologist Seth Fisher visited Samuel Bayard and performed a study of his personality based on his skull profile. Over the next several years Samuel Bayard would pursue an interest in the new science of phrenology, which held that personality traits were detectable by minute examination of the shape of the head. Fisher rated Samuel Bayard’s “feelings” (including whether he was combative, secretive, and destructive), “sentiments” (including his levels of self-esteem, benevolence, firmness, hope, wonder, and wit), and “intellectual faculties” (including his perception of color, time, tune, and language). Fisher entered his assessments in each category on

⁵⁶² *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Report,” first report, 1833 (published 1834), 15–21.

⁵⁶³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Report,” first report, 1833 (published 1834), 22–28.

⁵⁶⁴ [Samuel B. Woodward] “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” in Worcester Fire Society, *Reminiscences and Biographical Notices of Twenty-One Members of the Worcester Fire Society*, sixth series (Worcester, Massachusetts: Printed for the Society, 1899), 24.

a preprinted chart, finding his skeletal indicators to be “moderate,” “full,” or “large” in most cases.^[565]

Samuel Bayard apparently authorized the study of the heads of patients at the hospital, as a newspaper item cited a phrenological characteristic in describing them:

The Northampton Courier relates, as a remarkable fact, on the authority of Dr. Woodward, Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum at Worcester, that there are seven murderers confined there, and in every one of them the organ of destructiveness is developed in an astonishing degree.^[566]

Three months later, on 14 May 1834, a group of professional men met at Bonney’s public house in Worcester to found a local phrenological society. At the meeting Samuel Bayard was elected president of the new society. One in attendance, Christopher C. Baldwin, suggested that members were aware that phrenology was viewed by many as unscientific:

Our object is to investigate the Science of Phrenology & ascertain its nature and the foundation there may be for it in truth. Like all new converts, we are full of fury and enthusiasm, and we may thank ourselves, if we escape being rank Pagans.^[567]

The previous fall Baldwin had toured Connecticut, in part by steamboat on the Connecticut River. In viewing Wethersfield from the water, he noted that Samuel Bayard had previously lived there:

I looked at it from the boat, but the most imposing object in sight was the State prison. This is the town where my friend Dr. Sam. B. Woodward, Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum at Worcester, formerly resided and practiced.

At Hartford Baldwin toured the Hartford Retreat for the Insane. In his diary he said that the Worcester hospital compared favorably, despite the fact that the Hartford institution was private and the hospital at Worcester was a state institution. The difference, Baldwin wrote, was Samuel Bayard’s dedication as superintendent:

⁵⁶⁵ “Phrenological Character of S B Woodward by Mr. Fisher, Practical Phrenologist,” 25 February 1834, [1], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 4, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The date is written in pencil on the corner of the document. Fisher’s first name is supplied from an identical form that was included in a Worcester estate sale on 11 September 2010. See “Phrenological Character of John P. Green by Mr. Seth Fisher, Practical Phrenologist,” 6 June 1840, [1], R. W. Oliver’s Auctioneers, “Andrew H. Green Estate and Antiques Auction,” Worcester, Massachusetts, 11 September 2010, Lot 170A, RWOlivers.com.

⁵⁶⁶ “The Northampton Courier,” *Portsmouth [New Hampshire] Journal*, 1 February 1834, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society*, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society 8 (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1901), 302.

I am so much in favor of Dr. Woodward, that I fear I should not give a very impartial opinion. Any institution would flourish under his direction.^[568]

In the middle of the year, a patient from a foreign country was admitted to the hospital, according to Samuel Bayard:

In the summer of 1834, there came into the Hospital a foreigner whose great violence had rendered him the terror of all who came in his way; his beard was long and dirty, his countenance exceedingly insane, and the rapidity and vigor of his muscular movements were such as to excite alarm in all who witnessed his gestures or listened to his vehement and excited language. The first business was to shave him. Accompanied by the steward I visited his room to persuade him to submit to the operation without restraint. I proposed to him to be shaved, he replied, "not till you put me in irons," and appeared greatly enraged. He was soon quiet, and I said to him in a decided tone, "you must be shaved; take your seat on the bench, and let the man shave you peaceably, for it must be done." He seated himself quietly, and was shaved without trouble. After the operation was over he asked me to give him a paper to show that the shaving was not voluntary but by compulsion, as his countrymen would not receive him and treat him with respect if he had lost his beard which his religion obliged him to hold sacred. I promised him the certificate and he was satisfied, but was afterwards unwilling to be shaved although he never again resisted. He left the Hospital after some months' residence, in consequence of its crowded state, but returned *two* years afterwards the same savage, terrific man as before. He was violent for a time, but became more subdued, and after a while quite harmless and clever, except, occasionally a few days of excitement.

He flies his kite, unites in sports with the neighboring boys who are fond of visiting him, is generally respectful, and attends public worship on the Sabbath much of the time.^[569]

On 18 November 1834 Samuel Bayard wrote a letter describing a patient who took an interest in the doctor's coat:

a middle sized man took a fancy to a coat of green color, which I wore; he was very desirous of purchasing it. I told him I would give it to him when he was large enough to have it fit; he declared that he was larger than myself, and although it was supposed that he would not exceed the weight of 140, he declared that he should weigh 380 at least. Every thing was large with him; he fought in imagination, great bears, tigers, and lions; and he often, hand to paw, destroyed 15 or 20 of these in one night.

⁵⁶⁸ *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society*, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society 8 (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1901), 217, 234.

⁵⁶⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 62.

And although he would set and fight imaginary beings for hours together, till he was drenched with perspiration, yet he never laid his hand on a fellow patient or attendant, during the whole of his excitements.^[570]

During the summer of 1835 Samuel Bayard treated a Brookfield, Massachusetts, man named Homer Merriam who suffered from “dyspepsia, jaundice, etc.” When a trip to the West failed to cure him, he turned to Samuel Bayard who treated him with medicine:

I was for some time under the care of Dr. Woodward, then Superintendent of the Insane Hospital at Worcester, and accounted skillful. I was largely dosed by him, to no good effect I suppose, and by his advice went on a fishing voyage, spending some five weeks on the ocean.

Merriam later found relief in the waters of Saratoga Springs and herbal remedies.^[571]

At the end of 1835 the third annual report of the hospital was published. Case histories of twelve patients were given by the hospital trustees to demonstrate that Samuel Bayard’s new approach to the care of people with psychiatric illness transformed lives:

No. 1. One case, reported by the Commissioners for the erection of the hospital, had been, when he was brought to the institution, twenty eight years in prison—seven years he had not felt the influence of fire, and many nights he had not lain down for fear of freezing. He had not been shaved for twenty eight years, and he had been provoked and excited by the introduction of hundreds, to see the exhibitions of his raving. He is now, and has been, comfortable in health—well clad—keeps his bed and room remarkably clean, and, although very insane on certain subjects, is most of the time pleasant, companionable and entirely harmless and docile. He shaves himself twice a week—sits at table with sixteen others—takes his meals—walks about the village and over the fields with an attendant to accompany him, and enjoys himself as well as his illusions will permit. This man committed homicide.

No. 2. Had been in one prison fourteen years, he was naked—his hair and beard grown long; and his skin so entirely filled with the dust of charcoal as to render it impossible from its appearance, to discover what nation he was of. He was in the habit of screaming so loud as to annoy the whole neighborhood, and was considered a most dangerous and desperate man. When he came to the hospital he was provided with a new suit of clothes, which the sheriff advised us to have taken off and preserved, as he doubted not he would strip them in tatters in two hours. He was, however, induced to preserve them with great care, and has constantly for two years worn his clothes, sleeps in a good bed—sits at the table to take his meals and is quite civil, although a very insane man. He too committed homicide.

⁵⁷⁰ “Thoughts on Materialism, Insanity, Idiocy, Comparative Anatomy, Memory, Consciousness, &c.,” *Annals of Phrenology* 2 (May 1835): 34–36.

⁵⁷¹ Jack Larkin, transcriber, “Homer Merriam’s Journey in Search of Health 1833–35,” 1987, Old Sturbridge Village Documents 60, citing “‘Annals of the Merriam Family, Gathered by Homer Merriam, Commenced in 1862,’ chapter entitled ‘Homer Merriam,’ manuscript in the Merriam-Webster Collection at the Beinecke Library, Yale University. Microfilm at Old Sturbridge Village Research Library. Used by permission”; via OSV.org.

No. 3. An old man of seventy years of age or more, had been *chained for twenty five years*, and had his chain taken off but once in that time. Has for many months been very quiet and civil, and behaves like a gentleman: and, although quite insane keeps his room in good order, and takes his meals at table with seventeen others, with the utmost propriety.

No. 4. A female, had so long been confined with a *short chain*, as wholly to lose the use of her lower limbs. Her health had been materially impaired by confinement, and she was unable to stand, and had not walked for years. In the hospital her health has been restored, her limbs rendered again useful so that she walks without difficulty; is now in the enjoyment of health and reason, and able to labor sufficiently to support herself. She is now with her friends.

No. 5. Is a mechanic, who had been in close confinement for six years. He committed homicide; and if this institution had not been erected, would probably never have been permitted to leave his cell. He is now a useful mechanic, labors a great portion of his time—often reads his bible and the public papers—is exceedingly happy that this place has been provided for him; and blesses its founders and conductors daily for the benefits conferred by it, on himself and other inmates. He walks abroad and often attends church.

No. 6. Another man reported by the commissioners, was confined seventeen years before he was removed to the hospital. He was very violent and dangerous, often in chains notwithstanding he was in a strong prison room. He used to scream and commit acts of violence that required the most rigid restraint. He is now well dressed, civil, and, although often excited, is respectful and pleasant—is in the habit of assisting the females in washing the floors, drawing water, preparing food and similar domestic offices, and is about the premises without restraint. He committed homicide.

No. 7. Had been confined a violent maniac. Had been caged and chained for years. It was concluded to set him free, and see how he would conduct. He fell foul of his brother, and killed him with a bludgeon, and pursuing his sister would probably have done the same to her, had he not been arrested in season to prevent it. When caged he was naked and filthy; but now dresses neatly, is cleanly and civil; mingles freely with sixteen other persons, and, though quite insane, is to us perfectly harmless.

No. 8. Had been ten years without clothes; a most inconceivably filthy and degraded being; exceedingly violent and outrageous. He now wears clothes, is neat and cleanly in his person, takes his food at table with a large company, does much needle work and knitting, and, though at times violent, is managed without the least severity or difficulty.

No. 9. Another female, exceedingly filthy in her habits, had not worn clothes for two years, during which time she had been confined to a filthy cell, destitute of every thing like comfort, tearing every thing in pieces that was given her. She is now dressed cleanly, works some, takes her food at table in company, sings very pleasantly when requested, and is a large part of the time very civil and agreeable.

No. 10. Has been insane 8 years; almost the whole of this time in jail, and in a cage. He cut the throat of an infant while sleeping in a cradle, instantly killing it; made an attack, with an axe, upon an aged man, at the same time. It is stated that he was in a most wretched condition before he came here. He is now insane, but pleasant; keeps his bed and room in good order, takes his meals regularly at the table, spends much time in reading and in conversing with the inmates, and labors some.

No. 11. Was very insane when he came here. Was represented to us as being very violent and dangerous; and a part of the time he was so—being furious and outrageous in the extreme. When he entered the hospital was filthy, and nearly or quite naked. He is now calm, quiet; dresses himself neatly, keeps his room and bed in good order, and takes his meals with the other boarders. He is now quite pleasant, and useful too; works out daily; saws and cuts wood.

No. 12. A patient six years confined for homicide in close jail, and would probably have been confined for life. After six months here he commenced labor, and has not only continued it daily, but takes excellent care of every thing connected with the farming and gardening establishments. He is pleasant, very mild in his feelings, and ready to perform whatever is required of him. He is trustworthy, and can perform labor without superintendence.^[572]

A nineteen-year-old teacher named Elizabeth Packard was admitted to the hospital on 27 January 1836. Packard suffered from a five-week illness. Samuel Bayard's notes indicate that family members attributed her problems to novel causes:

Her father supposes that she laced too tight and that as a teacher she has had too much mental effort.

Packard was discharged after seven weeks at the hospital. She herself attributed her recovery to the end of the bloodletting that preceded her admission to the hospital, saying "the blood had had time to form again so that I could control my mind."^[573]

Soon after Packard's arrival, Samuel Bayard wrote a letter to a colleague commenting on his methods. Employing the patients in farming, he said, benefited the hospital by providing food and helped the patients by providing a sense of purpose:

Place a man in solitary, and he will most certainly tear his clothing, besmear himself or his apartment. Give him society and employment, and his self-respect will prevent his resorting to so degrading a practice, and his mental and physical excitability will be otherwise expended. It is as idle to keep an insane man confined after his period of excitement has passed by, as to keep a patient with a fractured leg in bed after the union of the bones is accomplished.

⁵⁷² Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Third Annual Report," third report, 1835 (published 1836), 4–8.

⁵⁷³ Linda V. Carlisle, *Elizabeth Packard: A Noble Fight* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 16–19.

The common amusements of the Hospitals are useful, and far better than nothing; but they will not compare with labor as a means of restoring the empire of reason or renovating the physical powers. It is true, that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. It is no less true, that all play and no work becomes insipid, after a while, and does not give that healthy impulse to the mind, which the idea of utility in labor is sure to impart.^[574]

Samuel Bayard addressed the same issue in the hospital's third annual report. Americans, he said, love to work:

We have not the military taste of the Prussians and the Germans, nor a relish for the light amusements of the French and Italians. We are emphatically a working people, and are not in our element without labor.^[575]

Two deaths occurred in the Woodward household in 1836. On 1 February, the youngest of eleven children of Samuel Bayard and Maria, Algernon Sidney Woodward, died at the age of eight months.^[576] On 29 October of the same year, Dr. Thomas G. Lee, superintendent of the McLean Asylum in Charlestown, died while a guest in the Woodward family apartments at the Worcester hospital. Lee was age twenty-eight at his death.^[577] The trustees of the McLean Asylum later passed a resolution stating "that the thanks of the board be presented to Dr. Woodward and his family, for their kindness and assiduous attention to Dr. Lee, during the illness which terminated in his death."^[578]

In October 1836 Samuel Bayard testified at the murder trial of Amasa Southwick, who confessed to killing his cellmate while incarcerated at the Connecticut State Prison. Southwick had been initially imprisoned for putting arsenic in the well of the Shaker community at Enfield, Connecticut, after his wife joined the community and refused to leave. Samuel Bayard recalled Southwick from his time as prison physician:

I saw him frequently at the prison during the first three or four years of his confinement, being then physician to that institution. He was dull, torpid, reckless and indifferent, unwilling to labor, walked about the yard, frequently talked and laughed to himself, and appeared wholly regardless of neatness of person or dress. While in the prison, the subject of the insanity of Southwick was often discussed by myself and the warden; it was concluded not to enforce him to labor, and to suffer him to walk about the prison yard unrestrained.

⁵⁷⁴ *Prison Discipline Society Reports*, "Asylum for Poor Lunatics at Worcester, Mass.," eleventh report, 1836 (published 1836), 24, citing a letter written by Samuel Bayard on 20 February 1836. The letter is reprinted in "It is Expedient for the State," *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 12 September 1836, 3.

⁵⁷⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Third Annual Report," third report, 1835 (published 1836), 34.

⁵⁷⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 121.

⁵⁷⁷ "Deaths," *Amherst, New Hampshire, Farmer's Cabinet*, 4 November 1836, 3.

⁵⁷⁸ *Prison Discipline Society Reports*, "Annual Report," twelfth report, 1837 (published 1837), 5–6, citing a resolution of the Trustees of the McLean Asylum passed on 30 October 1836.

During the time after Samuel Bayard left the prison for Worcester, Southwick's condition deteriorated:

Southwick appeared to have changed greatly during the last four years; he looked vacant and idiotic. It was remarkable, however, that while he appeared perfectly indifferent to every thing that was said by witnesses against him, whenever the name of his wife was mentioned he melted into tears.

Southwick was found not guilty by reason of insanity and presumably returned to the prison to continue his life sentence on the previous conviction.^[579]

The fourth annual report of the hospital trustees and superintendent was published at the close of 1836. In it Samuel Bayard discussed his efforts to address his most difficult cases, those of individuals who had been jailed for many years before arriving at the hospital:

To gain the confidence of such an individual, awaken his self-respect, and bring him to feel that he is a human being, worthy of the sympathy, respect and confidence of those around him, is a work far more difficult than the cure of a recent case. This is the merit we aspire to.

We have seen, in many cases, the desperate, furious and exasperated maniac, who, for years, has been the tenant of a cold and dreary cell, naked and filthy, devouring his food like a wild beast; set at the table calm and self-possessed, with his knife and fork, taking his meal with order and sobriety, clad in decent apparel, going to his bed at night with composure, uniting in amusements, or joining in labor with cheerfulness and pleasure.^[580]

Challenges faced by poor patients discharged from the hospital were also a subject of Samuel Bayard's report. Relapses were made more likely due to a lack of support, he said:

If insanity arises from domestic afflictions, the loss of friends, or the reverse of fortune, the impressions may be again renewed, when the individual arrives at home. Restoration of reason does not remove the sad realities with which are associated the distress and anguish that overwhelmed the mind. The lost friends are not there, the indications of former prosperity are gone, the discords of domestic strife may be renewed, poverty may again oppress, and bring its train of evils and anxieties, coarse and scanty fare, hard and unhealthy labor, sickness and suffering from apprehension of want; and intemperance, of all causes of insanity the most likely to be renewed, because temptations are every where presented.^[581]

⁵⁷⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Note By the Superintendent," supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 180–181.

⁵⁸⁰ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fourth Annual Report," fourth report, 1836 (published 1837), 47–48.

⁵⁸¹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fourth Annual Report," fourth report, 1836 (published 1837), 49.

A case study of the progress of a young man was given by Samuel Bayard in his report and demonstrated his method of challenging patients to exercise self-control:

He had been four months insane when he was placed in the Hospital. He was represented by his friends as being violent and dangerous. We soon found he was unsafe with other patients without restraint, as he would quarrel and strike without the slightest provocation, and when enraged, would tear his clothes and destroy every thing that was in his way.

Many efforts were made to appease him, and induce him to be quiet and wear clothing; but he tore up every garment that was given to him, and would not be persuaded nor rendered comfortable. Finding him peaceable and pleasant one morning, I said to him, "there is no necessity of your remaining in this state, you can do better; and to induce you to do so, I will give you work at your trade, such as I would trust in no hands but those of an accomplished mechanic; I will dress you handsomely throughout, and you shall be removed from this solitude to the best gallery in the Hospital." He listened attentively to the proposition; said he would make an effort to do well, and would like to try. In an hour he was at his labor, which he accomplished with the skill and dexterity of a master. From this time he worked almost daily at his trade, and improved regularly.

In half the time that he was a raving, filthy maniac, confined in a solitary cell, he was restored to his health and the full exercise of his mental faculties.^[582]

Samuel Bayard used his report to lobby the state legislature for the construction of a chapel on the grounds of the hospital.^[583] If his program of agricultural labor was augmented with regular worship, he said, the patients would have all they needed:

Provide fields, gardens and workshops for labor, and a chapel for religious worship on the sabbath, and you will show to the insane what you consider them capable of doing and enjoying, and they, in return, will show, by their industry, sobriety and self-control, that they properly appreciate your confidence, and are grateful for your efforts to promote their happiness.^[584]

A letter from a patient of the Worcester hospital described a "fancy ball" that was held for the patients and visitors on 6 January 1837. Extreme cold prevented a plan to decorate the hall with pine boughs, but the ball proceeded nonetheless:

About six o'clock the patients, who were exceedingly pleased with the invitation, were brought, very neatly appressed, from the different galleries by their respective attendants, and very kindly received by all in the prepared hall or gallery, and all seated.

⁵⁸² *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fourth Annual Report," fourth report, 1836 (published 1837), 54–55.

⁵⁸³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fourth Annual Report," fourth report, 1836 (published 1837), 57–58.

⁵⁸⁴ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fourth Annual Report," fourth report, 1836 (published 1837), 59.

O! it was a goodly sight, I assure you, to look upon so many faces made happy by the noble and kind heart of their superintendent—all the faces happily affected, but differently. The music, which was very simple, struck up some airs, faint and slow at first, then more lively; the effect was immediate, and it was interesting to see them one after another arise from their seats, unrequested and unmolested, and very cheerily with noiseless feet, (for I observed they had slipped off shoes,) glide down the long hall and seem to feel themselves unfettered, free, quite regardless of all around them.

After they had amused their fancy a short time, the assistant physician placed them in order for a country dance, guiding them in his usual mild, deliberate manner through its mazes, and indeed it required great and watchful patience, for they would sometimes, in passing down outside, sail off and seem to forget that they must return to their place and partner, or that they ever had one.^[585]

In an account published in 1837, Samuel Bayard described a violent outburst by a patient:

A female in the Hospital seized an attendant by the throat, and would, perhaps, have strangled her, if she had not been protected and defended by other patients; this was twice repeated, and yet she declared she had no hostility to the attendants—that they were kind and obliging, but she felt, as she expressed it, that she must kill them^[586]

Another patient stole items from other patients:

A female patient of respectability in the Hospital, would pilfer from her associates, and secrete the spoils in the room of another, against whom she had no prejudice, merely to disturb or mortify her, or perhaps without the least motive whatever.^[587]

A third patient was also disruptive:

One man has frequently discharged his urine into the bed of some one of his fellow inmates, to excite his anger, and to disgrace and awaken antipathies against him and his comrades. These little incidents (and they are innumerable in a hospital,) are trifling in themselves, but they show how active are the propensities, and how irresistible are the impulses of the insane mind, in matters of trifling as well as of serious import.^[588]

In the same publication, Samuel Bayard described the daily routine of the hospital:

⁵⁸⁵ "Scene at an Insane Hospital," *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* 3 (May 1837): 351.

⁵⁸⁶ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Note By the Superintendent," supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 173.

⁵⁸⁷ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Note By the Superintendent," supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 182.

⁵⁸⁸ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Note By the Superintendent," supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 182.

My practice is, to go frequently into the halls at unexpected hours, and generally extensively over the establishment in the evening. In the afternoon I attend to correspondence and make records, and receive such visitors as wish to attend to business connected with the patients, or the affairs of the Hospital.

The amusements which we encourage and practice, more or less, are walking and riding, which are attended to extensively every day in favorable weather. Females ride, and men walk in parties of a dozen or more, and spend much time in the fields in summer. We encourage ball playing, foot ball, ninepins, dancing, singing in parties, reading, writing letters and essays, playing chess, whist, backgammon, chequers, morris, &c. &c.

Our intercourse with the patients is familiar and parental. They greet us cordially, and generally are ready to acquiesce in whatever we prescribe or advise. We often unite with them in games to encourage amusements. So far as we are able, we gratify their wants and extend to them indulgences.

Our diet is full and substantial; all our patients eat meat or fish once a day, and some of them twice, unless a simple diet is prescribed, which is rarely done. Tea, coffee, and milk are used liberally in the Hospital; so are also butter and cheese. A good diet makes the insane satisfied and contented with the institution, and conduces to sleep at night and quiet by day. We have little or no complaint of the want of food.^[589]

A newspaper reporter visited the Worcester hospital and described it in a 25 August 1837 article:

At the time of our visit Dr. Woodward was absent on a short journey, and the patients were asking eagerly, when he would return. He exercises perfect control over them, although he has hardly ever been obliged to resort to force in the management of them. When they are troublesome or behave improperly, he locks them into their own room, and this punishment is usually sufficient to bring them to order.^[590]

The reporter noted that Samuel Bayard allowed a small child to visit the patients. This was surely his six-year-old daughter, Catherine Todd Woodward.^[591] Patients looked forward to her visits, the reporter said:

They manifest great partiality for the society of children, and a little girl of six years old, passes in and out among them without ever being molested, and they consider it as a privilege from Dr. Woodward to let her come and see them.^[592]

⁵⁸⁹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Memoranda of the Superintendent," supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 183–185.

⁵⁹⁰ "The Worcester Hospital," Amherst, New Hampshire, *Farmer's Cabinet*, 25 August 1837, 2.

⁵⁹¹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 121.

⁵⁹² "The Worcester Hospital," Amherst, New Hampshire, *Farmer's Cabinet*, 25 August 1837, 2.

Samuel Bayard's family lived at the hospital and participated in the care of patients on occasion. His wife Maria helped to administer the tests given to sleepwalker Jane C. Rider.^[593] A grandson later recalled that Maria also offered classes to the patients:

His wife taught classes in sewing and knitting, and the spinning wheels used at the time are in the attic of the old building, which is—in 1916—still in use.^[594]

The trustees made special mention of Maria and her children in their 1843 annual report:

Our acknowledgments are also due to the lady of Doctor Woodward, and to the other members of his family. Besides the sacrifice of personal accommodations and convenience, for the benefit of the patients, they have afforded them the soft and gentle answer, and the ready and cheerful assistance. Their kindness has been often mentioned by convalescents, and the memory of it will be long cherished.^[595]

Later one of Samuel Bayard's daughters developed a sign language with a temporarily blind and deaf patient:

It was discovered by Miss Woodward, the doctor's daughter, that she possessed a knowledge of the manual alphabet, and could make known her wants by that means, and could be communicated with by having the letters of the alphabet made with her fingers.

Miss Woodward, whose devotion to her interesting charge was most praiseworthy, by forming the letters of the alphabet upon her cheek, could carry on enough of intelligible conversation to ensure her entire cheerfulness.^[596]

The unnamed daughter was probably Samuel and Maria's eldest, Urania Battell Woodward, age twenty-eight.^[597]

In October 1837, swine raised at the hospital were entered in the Worcester Cattle Show:

From the State Lunatic Hospital, came sixteen sober Hogs, of great dignity of manners. The evil spirits exorcised from the walls of that noble asylum of misfortune, by the powerful spells of the mild treatment and rare medical skill of Dr. Woodward, have not been suffered to enter into the swine. They were the best conditioned and best behaved of the whole convention.— One of them had permitted his body to grow over

⁵⁹³ Belden, *Springfield Somnambulist*, 87.

⁵⁹⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward Profile, 1263.

⁵⁹⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 10.

⁵⁹⁶ "Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital," *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 25 December 1845, 1. The work of Samuel Bayard's daughter at the hospital is also mentioned in Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, "Superintendent's Report," fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 61.

⁵⁹⁷ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 120.

his head, so much as almost to obliterate the chief end, to quite create resemblance to a ball, and entirely to confer the capacity of motion in any direction.^[598]

A year later the hogs of the hospital again merited notice at the fair, this time in a broadside describing the festivities:

The swine belonging to the institution appeared to be perfectly rational, and of sound sense and clear memory. Eight of them, in one vast brood, gave examples of the result of good treatment, a ton and a half in weight.

When they stood they lied; for they could not stand, they could scarcely sit; if they endeavored to place themselves upright in one direction by an easy transition, they resolved into another equally perpendicular. There were no objects bearing comparison with their huge dimensions

It was gratifying to know the patriotic spirit which animated the vast delegation of swine from the hospital. With a promptitude worthy of all approbation, they took measures to reach their appointed place the day before the fair. How the journey was performed is not known; to have rolled over the distance would have been the easiest mode of locomotion for shapes as deep as broad, and broad as long. Loosening the green earth around, on their arrival, they stretched themselves on its feathery pillow to rest. The chairman, moved with deep anxiety for their repose, viewed them by a lantern at midnight, when they slept in the silver beams of the moon, like small mountains covered with snow.

The broadside credited the agricultural skills of “Dr. Woodward, whose unrivalled skill not only restores to the disordered and enfeebled mind its healthful action and vigor, but gives to the earth he cultivates new powers of production.”^[599]

A chapel was constructed at the hospital and dedicated on 8 November 1837. In reporting the event, Samuel Bayard characterized the population of the hospital as his “family”:

On the day of the dedication, about *one hundred and twenty-five* inmates were present. It was the first assemblage that had ever taken place to so great an extent, and was a most interesting meeting. There were present, besides our own family, about *one hundred* gentlemen and ladies, mostly from the village of Worcester. All the performances were interesting, and the appearance of the patients decent and respectful through the whole.^[600]

⁵⁹⁸ “Worcester Cattle Show,” Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 26 October 1837, 1.

⁵⁹⁹ *Broadsides*, American Antiquarian Society, “Report by William Lincoln, Before the Worcester Agricultural Society, 1838,” 1838, BDSDS 1838, item 5333.

⁶⁰⁰ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Fifth Report,” fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 70.

In the years that followed Congregational and Presbyterian services were usually offered, though other denominations were occasionally represented.^[601]

Rev. Louis Dwight, secretary of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, preached in the chapel soon after it opened:

at the close of the exercises, several of the insane inmates, whom he had been accustomed to see in the Prisons of the commonwealth, in circumstances of great misery, came to him to shake hands, and thank him for his kindness. They have memory of kindness, and of suffering too, even more vivid because their minds are so easily excited. Two of them now say without concert, that when visited in Prison they were in *hell*; now they are in *heaven*! If it is a delusion, it is a happy one.^[602]

One patient, Samuel Bayard later reported, made a particular effort to attend services well dressed:

He now works every day, goes about the premises wherever he pleases, attends chapel every Sabbath attired in his "Sunday suit," with his "fingered gloves" and his "nine dollar hat," and enjoys himself well.^[603]

A former patient who recovered from a "dreadful melancholy" wrote to Samuel Bayard after her discharge to inquire about the hospital. In her letter she particularly mentioned the chapel:

How do you get along in your beautiful little chapel? I shall ever feel deeply interested in your religious meetings, as I feel sensible that one of the first rays of light that entered into my benighted mind was in the solemn worship of that house.^[604]

The fifth annual report of the Worcester hospital trustees was published at the end of 1837. In it the trustees lauded Samuel Bayard's work:

For the successful employment of these means and all others adopted at this institution, the public are indebted to the skill, the intelligence and philanthropy of the superintendent, Dr. Woodward, whose untiring exertions in its management, and zeal in its welfare, throughout its entire existence, are above all praise, and beyond all price.^[605]

⁶⁰¹ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 69, citing "Worcester State Hospital, *Annual Report*, III (1835), 9–10, 31, IV (1836), 10, V (1837), 9–10, 70–71, VI (1838), 75–81; *Massachusetts Spy*, November 15, 1837; Woodward to Dr. Joseph Parish, July 5, 1845, Woodward Papers, AAS."

⁶⁰² *Prison Discipline Society Reports*, "Asylum for Poor Lunatics at Worcester, Mass.," thirteenth report, 1838 (published 1838), 17.

⁶⁰³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 65.

⁶⁰⁴ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Eighth Report," eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 86–87.

⁶⁰⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 9.

In the superintendent's section of the report, in addition to his usual statistical summary of the hospital population, Samuel Bayard provided the results of two studies he made during the year. The studies, he said, were to test the popular beliefs that dark-complexioned people were more inclined to psychiatric illness and that the phases of the moon correlated with bouts of illness:

It is interesting to record facts that may prove the accuracy or fallacy of popular opinions; for what are at this day popular and even vulgar notions on these subjects, have at some time in the history of mankind been considered sound philosophy and the oracles of truth.

In asylums of this character, as before remarked, it is considered proper and important to test by facts, the commonly received opinions of mankind with respect to insanity. If true, important considerations may result from them; if not true, they should be discarded and rejected.^[606]

Samuel Bayard wrote that his study tended to support the notion that people with dark complexions, dark hair, and dark eyes were more prone to psychiatric illness. In the second study, his statistics showed no correlation between the phases of the moon and episodes of psychiatric illness. The popular belief in a connection may have arisen, he suggested, from the fact that patients are more restless on nights with full moons and are thus more prone to episodes at those times:

We leave these facts without comment, and simply remark, that in bright, pleasant, moon-light nights, patients are more inclined to be up and about their rooms in our wards, than in dark and gloomy weather; in summer they spend more hours out of bed, in the night time, than in winter. To those who are affected with visual illusions, the flickering of the clouds in a moon-light night, and the rapid movements of their shadows upon the walls and floors of their apartments, with the help of an excited and distempered imagination, may awaken fancies calculated to excite either the most pleasant emotions, or the most appalling and alarming fears, of which the insane are susceptible, such we know to be reality.^[607]

In the following years Samuel Bayard continued his lunar study and each year reported that the results were inconclusive.^[608] In the 1841 report, he and his assistant did a

⁶⁰⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fifth Report," fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 39–40, 49–51.

⁶⁰⁷ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fifth Report," fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 51.

⁶⁰⁸ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 53–54. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Seventh Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 48, 81–84. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Eighth Report," eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 62–64. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Tenth Report," tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 54–55. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Eleventh Report," eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 67–68. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Twelfth Report," twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 67–68. See also

more extended study and concluded that the records of the hospital demonstrated no connection between psychiatric illness and the phases of the moon.^[609]

Samuel Bayard also struggled with defining the limits of psychiatric illness, especially that of those who committed serious crimes:

From the many cases of Homicidal Insanity that have come under my observation, and from the record of cases which I have examined, I cannot resist the conviction, that many, very many irresponsible individuals, both in this country and in Europe, have been sentenced to the severest punishments. If this be true, it is evident, that the definition of insanity has been too limited, rejecting many that were innocent, and consigning them to punishment as guilty. It is certainly not desirable, that these limits should be suddenly or extensively enlarged; while, on the one hand, the definition of insanity should not be so circumscribed as to release from confinement half the inmates of our Hospitals; it should not, on the other hand, be so extended, as to embrace every eccentricity of character, every unaccountable ebullition of passion, or estrangement of feeling. There is a middle ground that is right; there is a point where responsibility ends, and irresponsibility begins, and every fact that has a relation to this question, is important and valuable.^[610]

At the close of the report, Samuel Bayard thanked the state legislature for funding the purchase of more agricultural land for the hospital. Tending crops is therapeutic for patients, he wrote:

A well cultivated garden is a beautiful object in itself. Witnessing the progress of improvement in it, and the growth of all the culinary plants and roots which it produces, is most gratifying to those who participate in the culture, and partake of the fruition. No employment is so favorable as the cultivation of the land.^[611]

The gardens produced carrots, beets, onions, turnips, rutabagas, cabbages, squash, pumpkins, beans, peas, corn, lettuce, and cucumbers.^[612]

Patients and staff sawed and stacked between 400 and 500 cords of wood each year, and in winter a quarter cord was required each day to heat the hospital buildings. Samuel Bayard favored wood over coal for heating:

The preparation of wood for the fire, sawing, cutting, splitting, piling and carrying to the various departments, makes a great deal of valuable labor for our people, of which

Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 78–80.

⁶⁰⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Ninth Report," ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 61–66.

⁶¹⁰ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fifth Report," fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 67.

⁶¹¹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Fifth Report," fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 69–70.

⁶¹² Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 70.

they are fond, and which they volunteer to perform. All the labor upon coal is disagreeable and forbidding.^[613]

In 1838 Samuel Bayard published *Hints for the Young on a Subject Relating to the Health of Body and Mind*, later retitled as *Hints for the Young in Relation to the Health of Body and Mind*.^[614] The genesis of the book was a series of articles that ran in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1835. The articles were meant for medical professionals, Samuel Bayard said, and were rewritten to make the book accessible to a general audience.^[615] The title of the book is vague, but in the first sentence of the text Samuel Bayard makes his subject clear:

It can hardly be said that the attention of parents, teachers, or even the members of the medical profession, is duly awakened to the dangers which arise from the habit of Masturbation.^[616]

The book is a polemic on the dangers and corrupting influence of a practice Samuel Bayard said “gives the passions an ascendancy in the character—fills the mind with lewd and corrupt images, and transforms its victim to a filthy and disgusting reptile.” Another doctor’s suggestion that the practice was harmless and even therapeutic prompted him to write the book, Samuel Bayard said.^[617]

Parents should watch for the following symptoms in their children, Samuel Bayard wrote: “debility, paleness, with a downcast look, and a disposition to retirement and seclusion, a jealousy and suspicion of those in whom they used to place confidence, and who were former associates and friends.”^[618]

The individual becomes feeble, is unable to labor with accustomed vigor, or to apply his mind to study; his step is tardy and weak, he is dull, irresolute, engages in his sports with less energy than usual, and avoids social intercourse; when at rest, he instinctively assumes a lolling or recumbent posture; and if at labor or at his games, takes every opportunity to lie down or set in a bent or curved position.^[619]

Samuel Bayard claimed the practice resulted in weak backs; trembling limbs; indigestion; constipation, diarrhea, or both; headache; heart palpitations; hurried respiration; depression; irritability; and insomnia. Death “or else insanity and deplorable idiocy are the fatal result.”^[620]

Samuel Bayard cautioned that the practice could also lead to vision problems:

⁶¹³ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Sixth Report,” sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 71, 74.

⁶¹⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 2 (citations here and below are to the 1840 fourth edition).

⁶¹⁵ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 3.

⁶¹⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 5.

⁶¹⁷ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 3, 6.

⁶¹⁸ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 17.

⁶¹⁹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 19.

⁶²⁰ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 20–21.

There seems to be a strong influence from this secret vice upon the eyes.

Weak eyes, and particularly neuralgia of the eyes, or a pain in the eyes without apparent inflammation or local disease, probably often arise from it.^[621]

Only one path led to health, Samuel Bayard said:

Nothing short of total abstinence from the practice can save those who have become the victims of it. In this indulgence, no half way course will ever subdue the disease, or remove the effect of the habit from the system. Total abstinence is the only remedy.^[622]

A healthy diet, exercise, a firm mattress, and cold baths were prescribed by Samuel Bayard, and “if this course is not effectual to remove the habit, and the circumstances of the patient will admit of it, marriage should be the next step.”^[623]

Samuel Bayard said that psychiatric illness would be the fate of those who did not follow his advice:

When insanity is once produced by it, it is nearly hopeless, because the cause of disease is redoubled and generally perpetuated. The libidinous desires are generally increased, and the influence of self-restraint cannot be brought sufficiently into action to prevent the constant, daily, and I might say almost hourly recurrence of the practice. Thus the cause is perpetuated; and in spite of every effort, the disease increases, the powers of body and mind fail together, and are lost in the most deplorable, hopeless, disgusting fatuity! And yet the practice is not abandoned. All the remaining energies of animal life seem to be concentrated in these organs, and all the remaining power of gratification left, is in the exercise of this no longer secret, but loathsome and beastly habit.^[624]

Five editions of the book were published between 1838 and 1856. Williams College president Mark Hopkins thought so much of it that he made it required reading for all freshmen.^[625]

The 1840 fourth edition of *Hints for the Young* included an appendix advertisement for a book on the same subject, Sylvester Graham’s *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity*. In the advertisement, Samuel Bayard endorsed Graham’s work:

This Lecture, while it sounds the alarm to the young, will not fail to awaken the attention of parents, if once perused. It is couched in language as delicate as the nature of the subject will admit, and may be read with propriety and benefit by all.^[626]

An 1842 advertising broadside for another book on the subject, Dr. L. Deslandes’ *Manhood: The Causes of Its Premature Decline*, translated from French, also included a

⁶²¹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 21–22.

⁶²² Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 24–25.

⁶²³ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 32, 39–41.

⁶²⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 28–29.

⁶²⁵ Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 97.

⁶²⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Hints*, 69, citing a letter from Samuel Bayard Woodward to Sylvester Graham, 15 July 1835.

testimonial by Samuel Bayard. The English translation of the book would help Americans address a hidden scourge, he said:

I hope therefore it will go into extensive circulation. The views of the writer are excellent on this subject.^[627]

Similarly, an 1845 newspaper advertisement for a medicine called “Dr. Gregory’s Invigorating Tonic Cordial,” which was said to cure “a certain secret vice,” featured a statement by Samuel Bayard:

Dr. Woodward, of the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital, says: “It is the vice of ignorance, not of depravity, and that something should be done to rescue the most promising youth of the State from this mind-wasting indulgence.”^[628]

In 1838 Samuel Bayard published a second book, this one advocating that hospitals be constructed to treat alcohol addiction. *Essays on Asylums for Inebriates* grew out of a series of essays published five years earlier in the *Boston Mercantile Journal* that were later reprinted in the Hartford *Connecticut Courant*.^[629]

In the essays, Samuel Bayard wrote that the cure for alcohol addiction is simple, though difficult to achieve:

The grand secret of the cure of intemperance is total abstinence from alcohol in all its forms. This fundamental truth, so simple, and so extremely natural and rational, it required years to discover.^[630]

The best approach is the immediate and total cessation of alcohol consumption, Samuel Bayard wrote. Gradual withdrawal from alcohol makes no more sense than gradually removing a hand from boiling water to avoid a scalding:

If hot water blisters the surface, would you withdraw it cautiously, for fear of increasing the danger? No more propriety is there in discontinuing the use of spirits gradually by those who have used it intemperately.^[631]

A year or more in a hospital might be needed to achieve sobriety, Samuel Bayard said.^[632] Those who would “sign the temperance pledge”^[633] and be treated in hospitals would require time to fortify themselves against the urge to drink:

⁶²⁷ *Broadsides*, American Antiquarian Society, “Just Published—Price 50 Cents!,” 1842, BDSDS 1842, item 6028. The source of the quotation is a letter from Samuel Bayard Woodward to the editor of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 24 December 1838, in “Extent and Evils of Masturbation Exposed,” *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* 3 (2 February 1839): 49.

⁶²⁸ “Medical Aid,” *New York Herald*, 4 January 1845, 4.

⁶²⁹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 1–2.

⁶³⁰ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 8.

⁶³¹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 14.

⁶³² Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 13.

⁶³³ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 24.

Let him take one false step, and his case is forever hopeless. If heedlessness lead him to it, that same disregard of principle will much more easily lead him to it a second time. If appetite betray him, then his cure is not completed, and he will return to his habits as the “dog to his vomit.” He must *know* and *feel* that he must *never begin*, and then he will never be in danger.^[634]

Samuel Bayard argued that alcohol addiction is a physical disease. Just as any ill person deserves the support of family and friends, he said, so too do people dealing with alcohol addition, who more than any require the support of others to recover:

Can it be supposed that an individual under these circumstances is a subject of abuse and neglect, the scoff and ridicule of those around him? Far otherwise. His situation calls aloud for the sympathy and encouragement of his friends; for all the aid which benevolence and Christian fellowship can extend him.^[635]

Show to him, as far as practicable, the reason why the case is not controllable by the will, that it is a *physical* evil, *a disease of the stomach and nervous system, and entirely incurable while the practice is followed, and easily reproduced when wholly cured, by a return to the habit, even in a moderate way, and for a short time.*^[636]

Alcohol addiction is an intractable problem that will plague the world for generations to come, Samuel Bayard said:

Intemperance will continue to be the scourge of our country, will send its thousands of victims to an early and untimely grave, probably for ages yet to come.^[637]

To address the problem, he argued, time and money must be devoted to the construction of hospitals:

Let the experiment be fairly tried; let an institution be founded; let the means of cure be provided; let the principles on which it is to be founded be extensively promulgated, and I doubt not, all intelligent men will be satisfied of its feasibility, and be ready to extend to it ample benefactions, to build up and endow it with every necessary means.^[638]

While the hand of charity and Christian sympathy is extended to the lonely convict, secluded in the cell of his prison; while asylums are rising in all parts of the country, for the reformation of juvenile offenders; while hospitals are erected for the maniac, to restrain him from violence, and to restore him to health and reason; while a mighty effort is making in behalf of the enslaved African, to enlighten his understanding, improve his morals, and fit him for freedom in this, or his native country; while the glad tidings of salvation are extended far and wide, to disentrall the heathen from the

⁶³⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 35.

⁶³⁵ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 16

⁶³⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 12.

⁶³⁷ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 11.

⁶³⁸ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 11.

delusions of idolatry, and open to him a road to happiness through the Prince of Peace,—shall the intemperate be the only class of unfortunates in society, for whose restoration and recovery no efforts shall be made? We hope for better things.^[639]

In October 1838 a phrenologist from Scotland visited the hospital during a tour of the United States, returning a year later for a second visit. After meeting Samuel Bayard, George Combe used phrenological terms to describe him:

Dr. Woodward, physically and mentally, is admirably adapted for his situation. He is in the prime of life, and has large limbs, a large abdomen, large lungs, and a large head.

This combination produces a powerful and commanding person, characterized at once by vivacity, energy, and softness; and a mind in which intellectual power is chastened by the most kind and cheerful moral dispositions.^[640]

Combe described a carriage owned by the hospital and noted that many patients were allowed to go to town unescorted:

A neat carriage, drawn by two horses, belongs to the establishment, and is constantly employed in carrying the patients little excursions into the country to amuse them.^[641]

Dr. Woodward mentioned that he allows about one-fourth of the inmates of the Asylum to go into the village on specific errands unattended, and only one man has escaped; and he did so after being enticed by some acquaintance to drink.^[642]

Combe also noted that the most ill patients were restrained and isolated from the general population of the hospital:

Only four or five furious and filthy patients were found among the whole, and they are lodged in a separate building, so distant that their noise cannot annoy the general inmates of the hospital. Each of these persons was in a distinct cell, the walls of which are of brick, and the floors of mica-slate pavement, heated by fire applied below. The light is admitted from the passage.^[643]

Combe cited Samuel Bayard's attitude as an important element of his success:

Has anyone observed a similar expression of Benevolence and radiant joy in the countenance of Dr. Woodward, the superintendent of the Worcester Hospital for the Insane? It is the natural language of those sentiments of tender sympathy and cheering hope, which he is habitually pouring into minds diseased, and which are the best antidotes to their afflictions.

⁶³⁹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 22.

⁶⁴⁰ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 1:56.

⁶⁴¹ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 1:56.

⁶⁴² Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 2:223.

⁶⁴³ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 2:222.

If a quarrelsome man finds a feather and stick in his hat, he instantly erects his head, and becomes a soldier; and his diseased propensity rages more fiercely. Dr. Woodward coaxes him to yield up the feather, and to lay aside his military air, saying to him, “We are all civilians here,” and his pugnacity is mitigated. If a female patient, who fancies herself a queen, gets a shawl or other means of making a robe, with a little finery and embroidery, she puts it on, and instantly struts and sidles about with majestic airs; and her disease is aggravated. He persuades her to part with it, as “We are all republicans here, and the queens might not be properly respected”; and the intensity of the diseased feeling gradually abates.^[644]

Samuel Bayard shared his father’s dislike of the shoemaker’s trade, according to Combe’s description:

He mentions that he receives many shoemakers as patients. This class is numerous in New England; but he believes that insanity is produced beyond an average extent among them by their breathing vitiated air in their hot, small workshops, without ventilation, and by their unfavorable position when working.^[645]

During Combe’s visits, Samuel Bayard apparently expressed a growing confidence in the validity of phrenology:

Dr. Woodward is an enlightened phrenologist, and he assured me that his conviction increases, the more he observes^[646]

Dr. Woodward expressed his surprise how any man, living in charge of a hospital for the insane, and capable of mental analysis and physical observation, reasonably acquainted with Phrenology, could avoid conviction of its truth.^[647]

On 12 February 1839, Combe preformed a phrenological examination of Samuel Bayard. In his summary, he outlined his reading of the superintendent’s profile:

Fond of Antiquarian researches; may set a value upon ancient coins and antique articles. Plans well—adapts means to ends well; has naturally excellent judgment; possesses a taste for the arts, improvements, and the refinements and elegancies of life; brilliancy of talent.

Highly values his family and friends—a very affectionate companion and parent. Always happy with his family. Readily wins confidence and affection. Can do and say hard things, without creating difficulty, and so they will *take*.

Seldom gloomy or dejected.

⁶⁴⁴ “Natural Language of the Organs,” *The American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* 2 (1 July 1840): 474.

⁶⁴⁵ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 2:223.

⁶⁴⁶ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 2:222.

⁶⁴⁷ Combe, *Phrenological Visit*, 2:223.

I have said he is deeply interested in the welfare of his family he is equally anxious in educating his children, and would experience poignant grief in the loss of a member of his family, while firmness and veneration and conscientiousness would sustain him under the trial.

He will regard his home, not merely for its own sake, but for the sake of family and friends. Eminently social and affectionate; would go far to see and assist his friend would readily take their part, if he saw them insulted or injured.

Unwilling to witness pain and death, much less to cause them. Great share of sympathy. Secures his wishes more by persuasion and mild measures, than by threats or harsh treatment.

Desires money more as a means than end. Takes the good of his money as he goes along. Never purchases a *poor* article.

Frank, candid, open-hearted in disposition. Cares little about learning the secrets of others. Despises *low-cunning* and *management*. Naturally upright and honest himself, is disposed to think the same of others.

Well qualified to meet difficulties and overcome obstacles. Maintains and advocates his own opinions. Resists all encroachments. Resents injuries highly. Seizes upon whatever he undertakes with great spirit and determination—never shrinks from opposition. Sometimes inclined to call in question and oppose the opinions of others. Takes sides in controversy. If he conquers, he will spare the vanquished. If he ever manifests anger, he never adds to it a spirit of revenge.

Does not act without care and forethought, yet does not consider so long as to let the day pass without action. He possesses that valuable attribute of mind, which the old metaphysical school would call “presence of mind.”

His firmness, self esteem, combativeness, large benevolence, reverence, ideality and conscientiousness, impart to his character a commanding dignity, nobleness and high-toned sense of honor and elevation, and give an air of magnanimity to the whole man.

Will aim high—never trifle with himself, much less allow others to trifle with him. Firmness large, stable, determined and decided. May always be relied upon. Does not often change his plans, opinions or purposes, or whatever he undertakes or adopts.

Always hospitable; very kind to children, to the infirm, the aged and the destitute. If he undertakes to help a friend out of difficulty, he finishes what he begins, by doing it effectually.

Not bigotted. He does not believe that a man may be a worldling *all the week*, and a very *good Christian* on the *Sabbath*. But he will truly venerate his Creator, his parents, the aged, the talented, the patriotic, the sage and the good.

Has fair mechanical talent. Woud be successful as an engineer or in drawing. Has an excellent memory of events, individuals, forms, size, number, places and words. Can read fast, and yet correctly.

I should think he would be able to draw a circle and point out the center by the eye merely, better than almost any other man. Measures distances and size correctly by the eye, judges well, whether a given thing is perpendicular or horizontal. Will throw a stone or pitch a quoit very near the mark. Understands the laws of momentum, staticks and resistance well. Would skate well when a boy

Fond of reading travels, voyages, and so forth. Can easily call to mind the general aspect of places which he has seen. Remembers the roads, scenery, rocks, houses, trees, and so forth, where he has travelled. Notices and remembers accurately the relation of time, in which certain occurrences stand with each other; or, how long one thing happened prior to or after another. Will tell the time of day well, without the aid of a timepiece. Can waken from sleep at such an hour as he may wish.

Fond of music. Prefers those tunes which have lively airs. In composition, fills out his sentences well, and leaves but few ellipses to be supplied by the reader. Could learn verbatim with ease and rapidity. Remembers the precise expressions used by others in conversation. While he employs words with much definiteness and precision, will use many adjectives and qualifying phrases. Not apt to employ figurative expressions or reason from analogy.

Poetry and the wonderful are not predominant. Great cheerfulness and perception of the ludicrous, with some disposition to exhibit the latter.^[648]

A year after Combe's visit, Samuel Bayard was asked to contribute to a defense of phrenology that was published after the theory was attacked as unscientific. He did so, but was more guarded in his assessment than Combe suggested:

I have felt an interest in phrenology, but am not versed in the science. So far as my observation has extended in the investigation of the cases of insanity that have come under my care, the principles of the science have been sustained.^[649]

Samuel Bayard's assistant, Dr. George Chandler, described some of the medical methods the superintendent used at the hospital:

Blood-letting he abandoned almost entirely after the first few years of his residence at the Hospital. Blisters were not often prescribed for the insane, because they irritated the patient so much, and drastic cathartics were beneficial, he thought, only in a small proportion of the insane.

⁶⁴⁸ Samuel Bayard Woodward *Writings*, George Combe, "Dr. Combe's Characterization of Dr. S. B. Woodward," 12 February 1839, volume 3, section 1, pages 1–9.

⁶⁴⁹ Andrew Boardman, *A Defence of Phrenology* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1850), 60. The comments by Samuel Bayard are contained in a letter to Boardman dated 24 September 1841. For an analysis of Samuel Bayard's reluctance to publicly endorse phrenology, see Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 425–426. See also Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 53–54.

For the sick he advised a more nourishing diet than the books prescribed. He thought relapses were less frequent when the fever patient took throughout the disease a full supply. He often said let the patient with fever take every day nourishment equal to one quart of rich milk porridge.

He had none of the little arts and tricks of the quack about him to give himself importance with the sick or the vulgar. He dealt fairly and honestly with the sick and the well. He heartily despised deceit in every form. He gave no medicine as a placebo.^[650]

Among the medical books Samuel Bayard owned were John Brown's *The Elements of Medicine*, Johann Georg Zimmerman's *A Treatise on Experience in Physic*, and John Gregory's *Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*.^[651]

Samuel Bayard had faith that new medicines would be developed in the future:

Perhaps in the store house of nature may be found yet the remedy that will assist the ravages of consumption, that will allay the anguish and suspend the deadly progress of cancer and scrofula.^[652]

Thanksgiving 1838 provided another opportunity for a celebration at the Worcester hospital. A former patient attended the festivities and described the day:

I was with my kind friends, Dr. and Mrs. Woodward, at the Hospital, and I must say it was one of the most pleasant days of my life, although saddened by many *painful* recollections. At half past 10 the family and inmates, to the number of nearly 200 persons, assembled in the chapel. Mr. Ray, the Chaplain, read the Governor's Proclamation, and gave a most excellent and well adapted sermon on the duties of the day and the motives for keeping it—the feelings it should excite in us, and the many reasons which exist, at the present time for observing the present feast. He contrasted the situation of the *patient* with *those* who are in the deepest affliction and destitute of the abundance which they enjoy.

Occasionally, after the services are over, a patient will step forward, and express his approbation and thanks for the very fine sermon which has been given; then, after bowing very respectfully to Dr. Woodward, pass very quietly out. Now I must say something of the feast; turkeys, chickens, pies, and every thing which could be desired, were abundantly prepared, and all were satisfied and happy.

About 7 o'clock, one of the long halls, very tastefully decorated with evergreens, and brilliantly lighted was prepared for the party. Two players upon the violin appeared, belonging to the hospital. They commenced with a march, in which all present, to the

⁶⁵⁰ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 128, 129.

⁶⁵¹ Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 27, citing "These books are in Mrs. Holmes' collection of her great-grandfather's books"; on page [i] Perlman acknowledges the assistance of Katherine Woodward Holmes of New York City, whom he identifies as Samuel Bayard's great-granddaughter. A work cited by Perlman but not listed above is "Thomas Cooper's *Anatomy of the Human Body*," which has not been further identified.

⁶⁵² Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 46, citing "S. B. W., 'Origin and Progress of the Medical Sciences,' MSS in Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers, p. 27."

number of 70 or 80, joined. Dr. Woodward was present the first part of the evening, seated with his two youngest children beside him,^[653] looking upon the objects of his care with a countenance expressive of so much benevolence and pleasure, that I could have wished myself one.

Some of the patients, who preferred not to dance, were seated upon settees and benches, dressed in a very becoming style, having their hair very fancifully ornamented with flowers, rosettes, and bows of ribbon.

A number of the gentlemen patients were also present; and one, who is a greater part of the time in a high state of mania, was, on that evening, calm and happy, and politely offering his hand to Mrs. Woodward, very gracefully, with her, led off the dance.

At 9 o'clock, the company retired to their several apartments, with hearts overflowing with gratitude to their kind friend, Dr. Woodward, who is ever ready to favor them all, according to their capacity for rational enjoyment, and whose greatest happiness seems to consist in affording them all the gratification in his power.^[654]

The sixth report of the hospital trustees and superintendent was published at the close of 1838. During that year seventy-three incurable patients were released back to jails around the state to make room for new patients ordered to the hospital by state courts, the trustees reported.^[655] Because of the crowded conditions, Samuel Bayard added, the hospital was accepting very few private patients.^[656]

Two hundred and thirty patients occupied the hospital at the writing of the report, Samuel Bayard said. Of those, one violent patient was restrained and five were in cells. All but ten attended meals in common dining areas. At no time in the history of the hospital was table cutlery used as a weapon. More patients than ever were given permission to walk about the grounds and village, eighty without restriction, and no one attempted escape. Many others were allowed movement in the company of attendants.^[657]

A set of printed regulations of the Worcester hospital was published in 1839, following earlier printings in 1833 and 1836. In the regulations Samuel Bayard informed employees that they were expected to treat patients with respect:

Persuasion with a proper spirit, will generally be followed by a quiet acquiescence in all reasonable requirements. Much depends upon the manner of our intercourse with the insane. We should never be cold or insensible to their wants, never hasty, and

⁶⁵³ Samuel Bayard's two youngest children were Catherine Todd Woodward, age seven, and Edwin Porter Woodward, age six. See Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 121.

⁶⁵⁴ "Thanksgiving at the State Lunatic Hospital, at Worcester," Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, 15 December 1838, 1. See also "The Boston Transcript," *New Bedford [Massachusetts] Mercury*, 14 December 1838, 2.

⁶⁵⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 13.

⁶⁵⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 41.

⁶⁵⁷ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Sixth Report," sixth report, 1838 (published 1839), 59–60.

impatient in our intercourse, never turn a deaf ear to their representations, never treat them with neglect, nor with feelings of superiority, but mingle with them in kindness, address them with respect and affection, and we shall secure their confidence, and gain their affections, both of which are necessary to their management.^[658]

Samuel Bayard was a proponent of the benefits of fresh air and also commented occasionally on advances in education. In May 1839 he was quoted in an Ohio newspaper on the importance of fresh air in the classroom:

By respiration, an adult person spoils, or renders unfit for this vital process, about one gallon of air in a minute. By this great consumption of pure air in a school-room, made tight and filled with scholars, it will be easily seen that the whole air will soon be rendered impure, and unfit for the purpose for which it is designed.

The dullness of a school, after having been long in a session in a close room, and of a congregation, during a protracted religious service, are often attributable to this cause *mainly*, if not *solely*.—^[659]

On 9 October 1839 swine raised at the Worcester hospital were among those shown at an exhibition of the Worcester Agricultural Society:

Great examples and worthy of imitation, were fifteen swine of the Old Bay State, from the Lunatic Hospital. The principle that all things have beginning, middle, and end, has some exceptions: the hogs of Massachusetts seemed to be without particular beginning or end, with nothing middling. They would have been cubes of pork if they had not been rounded into spheres for the more perfect symmetry. They were sober and solid, as all is belonging to the institution of which they are members. They were bearers of despatches from the Superintendent, communicating a remarkable instance of resistance to the authority and order of their home.

“Two of the fattest and best of the swine,” writes Dr Woodward, in his letter bearing even date with these presents, “remain behind. Before they left the sty they manifested repugnance to the exercise of the authority which disturbed their repose—they were urged to advance till they had cleared the pen, when they turned up their noses, planted themselves on *broad constitutional ground*, and refused to advance. They were *flattered* and *entreated* without good effect, and finally were *commanded*, but to no good purpose. They seemed to believe that they had *state rights* and could *nullify* the measures of their general government. Their pride could not be roused by the prospect of seeing the public, or even by the promise of meeting the ‘judges of swine’—nor could their sense of justice be excited by the argument that their good keeping deserved from them cheerful acquiescence in the arrangements of the great exhibition. So far as their ideas could be understood by those who had not studied their language of signs, *they did not like the*

⁶⁵⁸ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 66, citing “*System and Regulations for the State Lunatic Hospital, Worcester, Mass.* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Spooner and Howland, 1839), p. 7.” An earlier printing was *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “*System of Regulations for the State Lunatic Hospital, Worcester, Mass.*,” supplemental reprint of first four volumes (published 1837), 186–193.

⁶⁵⁹ “Importance of Pure Air,” *Columbus Ohio Statesman*, 14 May 1839, 1–2.

law which compelled them to remove from the places of their business where they had accumulated large personal estates—they regarded it as anti-sumptuary—and questioned the power as well as the right to enforce such enactment.”

These bold rebels have been placed in close confinement in the custody of a faithful keeper, there to remain with no better food than bread and water, until they should be converted to non-resistance.— Should they continue contumacious, they will be brought to trial at the next December term of the court, and the painful necessity will exist of inflicting capital punishment for their offences.

Some of the swine who obeyed the summons to come from the Hospital, looked as if they had forgotten to bring their heads. The omission might have been considered contempt, and to have justified sentence to a confinement as severe as that recently endured by witnesses who have been unanswerable in other courts, to stand committed until liberated by the habeas corpus, which enlarges the body of pork from the prison of the barrel. But it appeared that for the convenience of travelling, they had packed their heads too deeply in their trunks to be again taken out. The dissolution of the copartnership existing between head and body, by the pressure of rope or the motion of knife, is not considered agreeable: to have the chief end embalmed in pork must be delightful. While these animals remain under the care of Dr Woodward, the loss of the extremity is of slight consequence. At the Hospital, second hand heads are cleaned, repaired, and refurnished, so that they go as well as new ones, and perhaps the skill which exists in that institution, might take down a small understanding and set up a larger one.^[660]

At the end of 1839, the annual report of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston said of the Worcester hospital:

This first, original, and most important institution is a light to the world.^[661]

Samuel Bayard and the hospital trustees also published their seventh annual report at the end of 1839. The superintendent opened his part of the report by describing what he considered the most satisfying aspect of his job:

This duty, with all its responsibilities, is most pleasant when we can witness minds naturally bright and intelligent, emerging from the chaos of illusion and the terrific excitement of disease, to calmness and composure, and finally to the full exercise of rational powers; when we can see the fearful apprehensions and gloomy musings of the hapless melancholic, dispelled by the well-adjusted application of physical and moral remedies, and light and comfort again revive and animate him, and when we find estranged passions, morbid propensities, and perverted habits giving place to sobriety, decorum, and all the realities of rational life.^[662]

⁶⁶⁰ “Worcester Agricultural Society,” *New England Farmer, and Horticultural Register* 18 (27 November 1839): 181–183. The report is dated 9 October 1839.

⁶⁶¹ *Prison Discipline Society Reports*, “Asylum for Poor Lunatics at Worcester, Mass.,” fourteenth report, 1839 (published 1839), 8.

⁶⁶² *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Seventh Report,” seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 64–65.

Removal of people with psychiatric illness from their homes to a hospital setting is necessary for them to heal, Samuel Bayard wrote:

In every condition of life, whether in the possession of wealth or suffering the privations and wretchedness of poverty; whether the tenants of a palace or a cabin, the insane are equally miserable and degraded. To afford a chance of cure in old and long established cases, they must be taken from their homes, and from old associations, and placed in the care of strangers, in institutions designed for their benefit, before one ray of light can penetrate the dark recesses of the long benighted intellect, or one spark of comfort warm and animate their cold and deadened feelings.

This Hospital, with its admirable arrangements and accommodations, is a most desirable residence for the insane. Elevated above the scenes of business, and removed from the disturbances of active population, in the midst of a country affording most delightful views and prospects, surrounded by the healthiest atmosphere; the breezes of summer reach us pure and uncontaminated, and the unsurpassed provisions for warmth and ventilation, furnish in winter a temperature as mild as perennial summer; no frosts enter our dwelling, no heat has ever endangered us. We are safe from the inclemencies of winter, the pestilential atmosphere of spring, or the malaria of summer, and in autumn no disease peculiar to the season, has ever molested our family.^[663]

In the report, the trustees described restraints that were occasionally used at the hospital:

It may here be repeated, that in the State Lunatic Hospital, chains have never been thought of, and the straight waistcoat has never been used. The only restraints on the limbs, are leather bracelets attached to a belt round the waist, to guard against sudden striking, and leather mittens covering the hand, attached to the waist in the same manner, to prevent tearing the clothes, and confinement on a chair for patients who would, without protection, injure themselves by exposure of their persons or by throwing themselves about.^[664]

The trustees also noted that, at their request, Samuel Bayard made regular note of the weather during the year:

As the site of the Hospital, by its elevation and exposure to the horizon on all sides, is favorable for meteorological observations, and Dr. Woodward was willing and very competent to undertake the task, the trustees requested, that he would do so, and they now present tables of observations made with regularity and accuracy, through the year, as an interesting contribution to science, in a department in which a deficiency of facts is often regretted.^[665]

⁶⁶³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Seventh Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 65, 66.

⁶⁶⁴ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 7.

⁶⁶⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 15.

Observations of temperature, barometric pressure, wind, weather conditions, wildlife, and agriculture were made by Samuel Bayard each day at sunrise, 2 p.m., and sunset. Among some of his notable observations were “Brilliant halo around the moon” on 31 January, “Frogs peep” on 7 April, “Cherry trees in blossom” on 28 April, and “Fine weather for haying and harvesting” on 18 July. On 3 September he reported a “Brilliant Aurora, extending over the whole heavens,—exhibiting one of those splendid celestial phenomena which have attracted so much attention in modern times. Few have been more magnificent.” In the fall Samuel Bayard wrote that “Trees begin to put on autumnal hues” on 7 October, “Smoky atmosphere; sun set in a cloud” on 24 October, “Indian Summer” on 29 November, and “Great snow storm” on 15 December.^[666]

Samuel Bayard also provided an extended description of a typical day in the hospital. Patients rose at 4:30 a.m. in summer and 5:45 a.m. in winter, he said:

The watchman rings the chapel bell to notify all that the hour of rising has arrived, and in a few minutes all the attendants and assistants are at their appropriate places preparing for the business of the day.

The first duty of the attendants is to unlock the door of each room in the galleries under their charge; every patient is kindly spoken to and bid good morning. Many are found up and dressed; those that are not soon rise and adjust their bed and prepare for breakfast.

the breakfast is prepared by candle light, and the family and a majority of the inmates take this meal before it is fully light.

After meals, a suitable number of trusty patients unite with the attendants in clearing off the table, washing the dishes, and putting in good order the dining-room and its appendages.

After the morning meal is over, the attendants, with such patients as volunteer their assistance, commence cleaning the galleries; the floors of the halls and rooms are swept or washed, the rooms are cleaned, the beds made, and every thing is put in readiness for the visit of the superintendent and assistant physician, which commences at precisely *eight* o'clock at all seasons.

⁶⁶⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Seventh Report,” seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 50–63. Samuel Bayard provided similar daily weather reports in future annual reports. See Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eighth Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 88–100. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 90–102. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Tenth Report,” tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 103–115. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eleventh Report,” eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 97–109. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 100–112. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Thirteenth Report,” thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 92–106. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 64–77.

In each department, before the laborers are called for, the overseer has every thing in readiness to commence immediate operations. Before this time, the cows are milked and fed, the piggery is well provided, the horses are fed and harnessed by the farmer and those individuals who are designated for this duty. A number of male patients are engaged in out-door duties before breakfast. The washer-man assists in making preparations for the labor of the day, *one* man collects the clothes for the laundress, another feeds the poultry, a *third* roasts and grinds the coffee; in summer *one* man drives the cows to and from the pasture, another goes to the post office, and another cleans and harnesses the horses, &c.

In the mean time, the regular laborers are called for, the farmer knows who to call to his assistance; the overseer of the shoe-shop comes for his workman; the washers are conducted to the wash-room by their attendant; the laundress goes for those who labor in her department; the semstresses assemble in the sewing room, and the woodman, with saws and axes ready, summons as many patients as he has tools provided for, to saw and split the wood.

Those patients who remain in the halls, are scarcely less busy. In the female department, sweeping, knitting, sewing, reading, writing, swinging, walking, and games, occupy the attention of nearly all the patients. In the male department, those who do not labor abroad, engage in walking, games of various sorts, such as draughts or chequers, chess, back-gammon, the different games with cards, reading, writing, conversation, political and theological controversy, music, &c.

The medical visit commences at *eight* o'clock, and occupies *three* or *four* hours. In this visit, every patient is seen, and all are conversed with more or less if in a condition to be interested. Every apartment is looked into, and every request or complaint is heard. With the curable cases and the intelligent residents, it is the practice of the physicians to spend more or less time in conversation, to join them in games, inspect their letters, and enter into such amusements with them as will interest them and remove all undesirable restraint that they may communicate freely upon the subject of their infirmities or any other subject as they choose. At *twelve* o'clock, the prescriptions are in readiness, and the attendants call at the medicine room for the doses prescribed.

After the medical visit to the female galleries, occupied by the better classes of patients, which is between *ten* and *eleven* o'clock, the females commence riding; when the weather will permit from *twenty-five* to *thirty* females ride daily.

At *twelve* o'clock, the chapel bell rings, which is the signal that all must quit labor. The male patients present themselves in the yard in the rear of the Hospital to which they are attended by their respective overseers, and from which they are conducted to their several galleries, by their attendants.

The patients take their dinner in the same manner in which they took their breakfast, and when called for are again ready for labor. There is an officer in the establishment, called the "flying attendant," whose duty it is to be where he is most needed. When not otherwise engaged, he takes out convalescent patients, also the weak and imbecile, to work an hour or two each day, as directed by the superintendent, in the garden or wood yard, changing them frequently, that they may not get too much fatigued.

At a suitable hour for supper, the chapel bell again rings, and all laborers assemble as before in the yard, and go with their attendants to their respective apartments.

In the evening all the halls are lighted by lanterns suspended from the ceiling, and in those occupied by the better classes of patients a large table is placed in the centre of the hall, with lights upon it, that they may assemble around it and pursue their employments, read, write, engage in amusements or conversation, as they choose.

Many of the feeble and imbecile retire early to rest, and all go to their rooms by *nine* o'clock. The attendant bids them good night, the doors are locked, and the lights extinguished, except *one*, which is kept burning in a lantern, for the accommodation of the attendants, if it should be necessary to get up to look to any patient in the night.

At *half-past nine* in the evening, when the family generally retire to rest, the watchman commences his duty. He spends his time in walking about the building, looking to the fires which he keeps burning in very cold weather, and kindles early when he does not, so that at the hour of rising the halls are all comfortable, and in the kitchen, wash-room, and laundry, fires are in readiness for commencing the labors of the day.^[667]

A visitor in viewing the patients at work might not realize they were patients at all, Samuel Bayard said:

It would be difficult for a stranger to discover any thing peculiar in the appearance or conduct of a dozen men at labor in the garden, every one attends to his own business, is silent if undisturbed, and performs his work like other men; yet, perhaps, in this group, may be found the prophet who received a direct commission from Heaven to destroy his friend and neighbor which he dared not resist, and who expects to be conveyed away from his present bondage to freedom and liberty, by the direction of the apostles. Here may be found the diligent and quiet laborer, who has thousands of people upon his head, reaching into the air and over the country to the distance of *forty* miles or more, all pressing him so that he can scarcely sustain the load, and when his work is done, most go quite around the Hospital building, to untwist his head and disengage himself from the cumbrous load.

The man of heavenly visions may be there, calm, industrious and rational in all he does, but who, at night, often sees golden visions upon the surrounding hills, brilliant spectres in the heavens, and splendid balls of fire rolling upon the earth, who holds continual intercourse with Heaven, and studies into the mysteries of the Almighty mind. Amid the group, is perhaps the man of snakes, who, when he is quietly and peaceably at work, suddenly commences to stamp with violence and great rapidity, to destroy the serpents which rise up, hydra-like, and would instantly overwhelm him and all his associates, filling the Hospital and the adjacent fields, if they were not instantly destroyed.

In the female wards, the variety of hallucinations is not less. Here may be found the mother of Christ, the wife of Napoleon, the Empress of Russia, the Queen of England,

⁶⁶⁷ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Seventh Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 86–90.

the woman with her *hundred thousand* hogsheads of bank bills, the military heroine, the turtle who makes her best effort to draw her head into the shell, the wicked woman whose touch is pollution, the woman of Babylon, and others equally absurd and surprising.^[668]

Samuel Bayard commented in his report on the importance of attitude in the care of people with psychiatric illness:

If, in our daily intercourse with the insane, we should treat them as inferiors or pass them by without notice or attention, refuse to hear them, and evince towards them a feeling of superiority, we should find them in a constant state of irritation and excitement. If we treat them kindly and politely, inquire after their welfare, and hear patiently their story, we awaken in them a spirit of mildness and affection, we can control them without severity, and gain their confidence and esteem. If there is any secret in the management of the insane, it is this; respect them and they will respect themselves; treat them as reasonable beings, and they will take every possible pains to show you that they are such; give them your confidence, and they will rightly appreciate it, and rarely abuse it.

We must never forget that we are dealing with fellow beings who are not held responsible for their conduct. The regulating power of moral action is withheld from them, hence they are capricious, passionate, and often violent. They also often misjudge, are often led astray by delusions and perverted senses. It is because they are not able to control themselves, and because they will not easily acquiesce in the discretion of their friends, that they are placed under our care. From us they are to have every comfort and indulgence which will, collectively, promote their best good. They look to us for sympathy and counsel, for relief in their various troubles and perplexities. We should enter deeply into their feelings, and be willing to spend our time and strength to promote their happiness.^[669]

In about 1840 a portrait of Samuel Bayard was commissioned by the trustees to be placed permanently in the hospital. The cost of the portrait was about \$150. Chandler described the execution of the painting:

He was at the time fifty-two or three years old, with physical powers in full vigor, and mental well matured. It is a faithful likeness of one who has done the State that adopted him imperishable honor. It is hoped that this portrait will never be removed from the institution^[670]

⁶⁶⁸ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Seventh Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 91–92.

⁶⁶⁹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Seventh Report," seventh report, 1839 (published 1840), 96–97, 98.

⁶⁷⁰ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, George Chandler, "Superintendent's Report," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 19. The painting was in storage at the newly reconstructed Worcester State Hospital in October 2012. See Vernon Powell "Woody" (Woodward) Bliss, "Notes of Call with Antonio 'Tony' Riccitelli, Chief Operating Officer, Worcester, MA, State Hospital," 23 October 2012, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

The artist who painted the portrait was James Frothingham.^[671]

In 1840 Samuel Bayard again turned down the directorship of the Connecticut Retreat, a position he declined despite the offer of the retreat's trustees to build him a house there.^[672] In April 1840 a newspaper suggested that the Massachusetts legislature enhance his compensation to be sure he remained in Worcester:

We are aware of the sacrifices that Dr. Woodward has already made in behalf of the State—sacrifices for which he never will receive any adequate reward, but in the consciousness that they have been made in the great cause of humanity, in one of its forms, which present the strongest claims to the exercise of our benevolent feelings. We trust that these sacrifices will be duly considered by our constituted authorities, and we have no hesitation in saying, that, if pecuniary reward, or the increase of the accommodations of Dr. Woodward and his family, will secure a continuance of his services, no contracted views or parsimonious feelings should be allowed to withhold whatever is necessary for that purpose. Services, such as his, cannot be estimated by dollars and cents, and, if we allow ourselves to be deprived of him, from any such consideration, we shall find, when too late, that we have committed an error which cannot be repaired.^[673]

During his years at the Worcester hospital, Samuel Bayard did contemplate leaving his post for other pursuits. Chandler described Samuel Bayard's unrealized hope of opening a hospital for people addicted to alcohol:

So strong was his belief in the feasibility and good working of his plans for the cure of the confirmed inebriate, that the Doctor was anxious to engage in the execution of them. He would have made great sacrifices of pecuniary means and personal comfort, to have done so. Wealthy men with benevolent hearts were consulted, to get up a private establishment, but their plans were not consummated. Could a small one even have been started, he would have resigned his charge of the Hospital where he was many years before he did, to have taken direction of it.^[674]

Samuel Bayard remained on the job in Worcester. In a letter of 23 April 1840, he described the character of the people who worked for him at the hospital:

I am of opinion there were never collected in one establishment more good people, who act from conscientious regard to duty, than we have, of the same number. We employ no individual who uses any intoxicating drink of any sort; we prohibit tobacco, as far as possible; we seek quiet, steady, moral, and religious people. About one half of our help are members of churches, and one half are not; we have few or none who do not respect religion, and observe the Sabbath with suitable reverence.

⁶⁷¹ Nathaniel Paine, "Portraits and Busts in Possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and of Other Associations in Worcester, Mass.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Society Register* 30 (January 1876): 25. See also Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 135.

⁶⁷² Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 111.

⁶⁷³ "From the Worcester Spy," *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 1 April 1840, 1.

⁶⁷⁴ Chandler, "Dr. Woodward," 127.

Probably a profane word was never uttered by one individual in our employ. They soon learn to discipline their feelings, and are not easily thrown off their guard, or excited to passion. We inculcate cheerfulness, good fellowship, and kind feelings, and set them examples.

We employ married people to a great extent, and like such help in some departments of labor better than single persons. We have no domestics, no servants, no individuals, in our employ, who have low, vulgar habits. We are all co-workers in the great objects of the institution, and all are best satisfied when most good is accomplished.

I cannot refrain, however, from bearing testimony to the faithfulness, devotion, and untiring perseverance of Mrs. Ellis, the matron.^[675] She is truly an excellent woman,—healthy, industrious, conciliating, possessed of the kindest heart and best feelings.

It has been an object, ever since we have had the charge of this Hospital, to elevate the character of our help. We have retained the good, and let the indifferent seek other places.^[676]

The United States census recorded the family of Samuel Bayard on 1 June 1840. Samuel Bayard, Maria, and their children were among hundreds of individuals counted at the hospital. The census placed Samuel Bayard at the head of a household of 279 people, including 149 females and 130 males. The totals included fifteen people under twenty (including the Woodward children who had not yet reached adulthood and departed their childhood home).

Seven African Americans were among those enumerated at the hospital. At the bottom of the page that included the hospital entry, however, the census taker placed the number 1 in a summary column for Caucasian people with psychiatric illness and 133 in a summary column for African American people with psychiatric illness, evidently a transposition of what was meant.^[677] The mistake would attract unexpected notoriety.

In the early 1840s, Northern abolitionists were eager to prove that the census had inflated the number of enslaved people in the South, since each was counted as three-

⁶⁷⁵ Lucy (Upham) Ellis (1796–1887) was the hospital matron and her husband Baxter Ellis (1792–1866) was the steward. See *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Fifth Report,” fifth report, 1837 (published 1838), 16. See also *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 88–89. See also *Find A Grave*, Lucy (Upham) Ellis and Baxter Ellis gravestone photographs, James Bianco, Pine Grove Cemetery, West Brookfield, Massachusetts, 30 May 2014, Find A Grave Memorials 130610673, 130610737, James Bianco, 30 May 2014. See also *Vital Records of Dudley, Massachusetts, To the End of the Year 1849* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Franklin P. Rice, 1908), 115. See also *Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts, To the End of the Year 1849* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Franklin P. Rice, 1909), 82.

⁶⁷⁶ *Prison Discipline Society Reports*, “Correspondence of the Society Concerning the Character of Subordinate Officers in Asylums and Prisons,” fifteenth report, 1840 (published 1840), 66–67.

⁶⁷⁷ Samuel Bayard Woodward family, Worcester, Worcester County, Massachusetts, page 188, line [30], Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, M740, 580 reels, reel 188; via “1840 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

fifths of a person for the purpose of determining Congressional representation.^[678] In making their case they pointed out mistakes in the census, including the error in the Samuel Bayard Woodward entry, exhibiting them as examples of why the census was flawed.^[679] A Boston almanac was the first to point out the Woodward entry error.^[680] Abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe then reprinted the almanac article in a publication presenting evidence to support her portrayal of slavery in her immensely successful novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The almanac editors summed up the problem:

Your memorialists are aware that some of these errors in respect to Massachusetts, and perhaps also in respect to other states, were committed by the marshals. Mr. William H. Williams, deputy marshal, states that there were one hundred and thirty-three colored pauper lunatics in the family of Samuel B. Woodward, in the town of Worcester; but on another page he states that there were no colored persons in said Woodward's family.^[681]

The article made an error of its own in failing to note the seven African American residents who were enumerated in the hospital count.

While in Worcester, Samuel Bayard was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and the Ohio Historical, Philosophical and Medical Society, and president of the city's temperance society.^[682] He was also a fellow of the Albany Medical College.^[683] On 19 September 1840 he was named a founding vice president of the Worcester County Horticultural Society.^[684]

By 1840 the Worcester hospital was becoming overcrowded. The 224 rooms in the institution were not enough to accommodate those sent to the hospital by the state, according to a news article:

Appeals of the strongest character are made for the entrance, which Dr. Woodward is compelled to reject solely because there is not an unoccupied place remaining.

The newspaper called on the state legislature to fund the construction of a new hospital wing.^[685] In 1843 the legislature voted to expand the hospital, appropriating \$42,000 to construct additional buildings and increase its capacity to 400 patients.^[686]

Samuel Bayard wrote that overcrowding was a problem from the earliest days of the hospital:

⁶⁷⁸ Joseph Wheelan, *Mr. Adams's Last Crusade: John Quincy Adams's Extraordinary Post-Presidential Life in Congress* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2008), 218–219.

⁶⁷⁹ Clayton E. Cramer, *Black Demographic Data, 1790–1860: A Sourcebook* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997), 43–49.

⁶⁸⁰ "Mistakes in the Census of 1840," *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1845* (Boston: James Munroe & Company, 1844), 157, 159.

⁶⁸¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon which the Story is Founded* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Company, 1853), 259.

⁶⁸² Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 219–220.

⁶⁸³ Cutter, *New England Families*, 2:1056.

⁶⁸⁴ Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 395.

⁶⁸⁵ "Lunatic Hospital, Worcester," *New Bedford [Massachusetts] Mercury*, 30 October 1840, 4.

⁶⁸⁶ "Enlargement of the State Hospital," *Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Sun*, 6 April 1843, 2.

when the legislature of Massachusetts established the noble charity at Worcester, the public press assailed it, in some parts of the commonwealth, and a large portion of the community believed it to be unnecessarily spacious, as they declared it could never be needed, and would never be occupied. Instead of this, however, in six months every ward was filled with inmates, and before the first year closed, patients were rejected for want of room; ever since that time it has been in a very crowded condition.^[687]

Still the superintendent was ambivalent about the expansion, favoring the construction of ancillary buildings rather than the addition of wings to the main building, to better ensure that individualized treatment could continue. The addition of wings was favored by the legislature and the plan moved forward, “which Dr. Woodward greatly regretted, being confident it would cripple his system of treatment.”^[688]

A newspaper reporter visited the hospital in October 1840 and in a November article described meeting Samuel Bayard:

We have reason to believe that no man in this country has done more towards perfecting the best system for treating the insane than Doct. S. B. Woodward, the principal and superintendent of the State Hospital at Worcester, Massachusetts. The world, we think, is growing wiser in relation to both education and government. The severer discipline is giving place to a milder regime.

This principle has been carried out to a great extent by Doct. Woodward in the management of the Insane Hospital at Worcester. We have witnessed with great pleasure the progress of that institution during the last few years.^[689]

Samuel Bayard continued to take an interest in the education of children. In response to a query from the Massachusetts Board of Education, he stated that school chairs that support the backs and legs of children are essential. He also said that play-ground time is important for the physical health of children:

Young children should be permitted to change their position often, to stand on their feet, to march and to visit the play ground. One hour is as long as any child under ten years of age should be confined at once; and four as long as he should be confined to his seat in one day.^[690]

Samuel Bayard wrote on the same subject in a letter to Horace Mann. Intense study by children under eight years of age leads to disease, he wrote, and should be actively discouraged:

If a child exhibits any symptoms of precocity, it should be taken immediately from books and be permitted to ramble and play in the open air, or engage in manual labor

⁶⁸⁷ Samuel Bayard Woodward, *Inebriates*, 37.

⁶⁸⁸ “The Segregate System and the Individualized Treatment of the Insane,” *Weekly Medical Review* 14 (20 November 1886): 565.

⁶⁸⁹ “The Insane Hospital at Worcester, Mass.,” Concord, New Hampshire, *Farmer’s Monthly Visitor*, 30 November 1840, 165.

⁶⁹⁰ “School Rooms,” Madison *Wisconsin Enquirer*, 5 December 1840, 3.

and such amusements as will give rest to the mind, and health and vigor to the body. The recess at school, for children eight years and under, should be long, the play active and even noisy, (for the lungs acquire strength by exercise as well as the muscles;) every child should be required to unite in the sports of play time.

In school regulations, regard is usually had to mental and moral improvement only. We forget that we have bodies, the preservation and training of which are not less necessary to the young, than the acquisition of knowledge. Without health, we can have little enjoyment. With it we can learn all that is necessary, with ease,—if we are not in too great haste.^[691]

In their eighth annual report to the Massachusetts governor and legislature at the close of 1840, the trustees of the hospital again lauded the work of Samuel Bayard:

In this blessed refuge of mercy, for eight years past, the ministrations of humanity have been dispensed to more than eleven hundred and ninety of our unfortunate brethren, afflicted with all the various and terrible forms of mental malady—and, during the whole period, not a blow has been struck, not a chain has been used, nor a harsh word spoken, nor a hard look given. Every thing has been done by the intelligence, benevolence and firmness of the master mind of that extraordinary man, who superintends and sways, with consummate skill, the discordant elements over which he presides, and who has raised the reputation of the State Lunatic Hospital to the rank of a model institution, alike admirable for its humanity, economy and success.^[692]

Samuel Bayard, in his portion of the report, discussed factors that predisposed young people to psychiatric illness:

The most frequent causes of predisposition to insanity are unrestrained indulgence of temper, unbridled appetites and desires, pernicious mechanical restraints upon the free movement of organs essential to life, improprieties of dress, excessive effeminacy, or ill-directed education, by which the individual is not prepared to meet the vicissitudes and trials which must be encountered in the journey of life—^[693]

In describing developments in the operation of the hospital, Samuel Bayard reported that an orchard had been added to the grounds:

We have placed upon our premises *one hundred* thrifty apple trees of the choicest varieties of engrafted fruit, many of which begin to bear. We have also a great number of English cherry trees, pear trees and peach trees, all of which are growing rapidly, and many of them already furnish specimens of choice varieties of fruits.

⁶⁹¹ Horace Mann, *Fourth Annual Report Covering the Year 1840*, Horace Mann League facsimile edition (Washington D.C.: Horace Mann League, 1949), 100–101.

⁶⁹² *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, “Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 4.

⁶⁹³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eighth Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 72.

The effect of our labors will be more and more apparent, as years roll away and leave the bearing fruit tree, the elm, the maple, the pine and larch that have been planted by our hands, spreading their shades and extending their branches, the monuments of our industry and care.^[694]

Meals served at the hospital were simple and healthful, according to Samuel Bayard:

The breakfast consists of coffee, bread and butter, and often a hash of meat, or a cold cut with warm potatoes; or milk if it is preferred. The dinner consists of animal food, with bread and a profusion of garden vegetables. The supper is of tea or cocoa, with bread and butter, cheese, often plain cake or mush and molasses, or bread and milk.^[695]

A fire engine was purchased for the hospital, Samuel Bayard wrote, and a fire brigade of staff and patients organized:

This company assemble on Monday of each week, at the ringing of a fire bell, and exercise the engine by throwing water upon the building, washing the windows, and, in various ways, giving exercise to all who may be disposed to unite in the sport.

The subject of fire has always occasioned us great anxiety. The present arrangements, with the employment of a watchman, afford much relief. We hope to escape a calamity great, in any case, but most dreadful in a hospital for the insane.^[696]

Samuel Bayard reported that in March 1841, Dr. Thomas Miner of Connecticut came to the hospital to receive care for worsening chronic illness:

Early in March he came on to Worcester to see what could be done to alleviate his sufferings, and, as he said—‘if he could not be relieved, to die with his friend.’

Samuel Bayard reported in a 23 April 1841 letter that despite his efforts Miner “died at my residence this morning at half past three o’clock.”^[697]

In 1841 the swine of the state hospital again merited notice at the autumn Worcester County fair, and again the writer of an article attempted to make light of the situation:

Thirty-six hogs who had enjoyed the hospitality of the State Lunatic Hospital, attended the exhibition. The swine of Massachusetts have never been out of their heads, and therefore their heads have not appeared to be out of them. They have been so

⁶⁹⁴ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eighth Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 73–74.

⁶⁹⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eighth Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 77.

⁶⁹⁶ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eighth Report,” eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 84.

⁶⁹⁷ “Death of Thomas Miner, M.D., of Connecticut,” *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 2 (July 1841): 130, citing “*Boston Med. and Surg. Jour.*”

infatuated, that without derangement of their happiness they could dispense with their thinking faculties while under the care of Doctor Woodward. His skill converting every thing it touches into good, has given to his stocks higher value than they ever before possessed, by allowing them to look out for themselves. The breed produced by his care, has been celebrated through pen and press.^[698]

Soon after another newspaper discussed the irrigation system used to water the hospital hay fields:

On the cultivated grounds attached to the Insane Hospital at Worcester water is flashed over the grounds brought from a clear cold spring on the rising ground above; and Dr. Woodward assured us that this “pure water” had all the desired effect to increase the product of hay.^[699]

The ninth annual report of the hospital trustees and superintendent was published at the end of 1841. In his report on hospital activities, Samuel Bayard wrote that the hospital carriage carried 543 patients on 110 trips that totaled 460 miles:

In addition to riding, the females walk in pleasant weather about the grounds or in the grove, in parties, with or without an attendant, and spend much time in the open air about the grounds, attending to the flowers and the gardens. In the hall, they swing, play ball, battledoor, graces, nine-pins, and occasionally, blind-man’s-buff.

Samuel Bayard also noted that “candy-making and corn-parching are among the winter amusements.”^[700]

Samuel Bayard reiterated in his report that he rejected the use of blood-letting in the treatment of people with psychiatric illness, though he noted that other physicians continued to employ it. He bled patients early in his career at the hospital, he wrote, but he since abandoned it in favor of other remedies. In the early years Samuel Bayard also used a device that rapidly spun patients in a chair suspended from the ceiling:

Under the influence of this mistaken view, I once bled a stout shipmaster, who was in the most violent mania, twenty-eight pounds in thirty days, used Cox’s circular swing^[701] almost daily, till it produced sickness and vomiting,—and yet, at the end of the month, found my patient little or no better. I then resorted to remedies less

⁶⁹⁸ “Swine Report of the Worcester Agricultural Society,” *Barre [Massachusetts] Gazette*, 17 December 1841, 2.

⁶⁹⁹ “Natural Meadow or Reclaimed Bog,” Pittsfield, Massachusetts, *Sun*, 13 January 1842, 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 76, 77.

⁷⁰¹ Early in the nineteenth century English physician John Mason Cox advocated the use of a circular swing or “gyrater” for the treatment of people with psychiatric illness. A patient was placed in a straightjacket and strapped into a chair suspended from a hook on the ceiling. The chair was then spun at rates as high as one hundred rotations per minute. Side effects were said to be disorientation, purging, and bleeding from the eyes. See Richard Noll, *The Encyclopedia of Schizophrenia and Other Psychotic Disorders*, third edition (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 97.

hazardous and more composing, and produced a sudden amendment, and speedy recovery.^[702]

The greatest remedy for people with psychiatric illness, Samuel Bayard said, was treating them with respect and honesty:

In our intercourse with the insane, we design to be candid and admit of no deception. Uniform kindness and respect, every attention, even in small things, that will interest and encourage them, is bestowed. Indulgence is not always best, and decision and firmness, tempered with mildness, are always more or less necessary. Self-respect is encouraged, and every one is required to be as much like a rational person as is in his power.

That said, Samuel Bayard noted that no indulgence was allowed if it impinged on the rights of other patients, as “the good of the whole is always considered paramount to the comfort of one.”^[703]

In his ninth report Samuel Bayard thanked the people of Massachusetts for funding the hospital and making the state a leader in reforming the treatment of people with psychiatric illness:

The insane are no longer approached with dread and abandoned in despair; the darkness which for centuries hung over them, is dispelled, and they are feeling the influence of the light of science and the warmth of Christian charity beaming upon them, to revive, to renovate and to save them. Every citizen of this Commonwealth should be proud of the elevated stand which she has taken in this glorious cause of humanity; that her provisions are more ample than those of other State for the accommodation and recovery of the insane.^[704]

Three long-time employees, the hospital’s assisting physician, George Chandler, and the steward and matron, Baxter and Lucy Ellis, would soon leave the hospital, Samuel Bayard said. Without them its operation would be difficult, he wrote, stating at the same time that he himself would soon retire:

During another year, if life and health are spared me, I shall be ready to perform the duties of the place, which new relations must make more difficult; and, after having devoted ten years, the best of my life, to this institution, I shall be ready to retire and make room for some one in the vigor of manhood, who can bring to the service the high intelligence and enlarged benevolence fitted for the station.^[705]

⁷⁰² Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 79–80. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 70–71.

⁷⁰³ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 81–82.

⁷⁰⁴ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 71.

⁷⁰⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Ninth Report,” ninth report, 1841 (published 1842), 88–89.

In 1842 Samuel Bayard was offered the post of superintendent of a new asylum in Utica, New York. While considering the offer he traveled to Utica.^[706] Newspapers mistakenly reported that he accepted the appointment, but in fact he decided to decline it and remain in Worcester.^[707]

Later in the same year, Dr. George Chandler, assistant to Samuel Bayard, departed the hospital to assume the post of superintendent of the New Hampshire state hospital.^[708] Samuel Bayard had earlier been consulted by New Hampshire officials planning the construction of the hospital.^[709] He also advised the Massachusetts secretary of state on procedures for recording vital statistics and consulted with the city of Boston on the construction of a prison. Samuel Bayard also assisted historian George Bancroft as he researched the psychiatric illness of George III for his monumental history of the United States.^[710]

On 17 June 1842 Samuel Bayard testified in Boston Municipal Court at the burglary trial of Francis W. Loring:

Dr. Woodward testified that in 1838, the defendant was an inmate of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital; that he was then decidedly insane and irresponsible for his acts, and disposed to steal, for the love of mischief, apparently, and that he was discharged without having been cured.

Loring was found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent back to the Worcester hospital.^[711]

The *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1842 lauded Samuel Bayard's annual reports:

The medical superintendent of the Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital stands at the head of all writers on insanity, in North America. The mass of information he has collected, to be published, it is hoped, in connection with what which has already been given to the public, will constitute a splendid series of important facts, of unquestionable utility to those who are pursuing or who may pursue the same branch of study.^[712]

Social reformer Dorothea Dix, whose dramatic descriptions of the plight of people with psychiatric illness spurred legislators in several states to build state hospitals,

⁷⁰⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 111. See also "We Learn from the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," *Boston Daily Atlas*, 12 May 1842, 2.

⁷⁰⁷ "The Boston Morning Post Announces," *Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Sun*, 19 May 1842, 2.

⁷⁰⁸ "New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane," *Amherst, New Hampshire, Farmer's Cabinet*, 11 November 1842, 3.

⁷⁰⁹ "New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane," *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 23 December 1839, 3. See also "The Governor's Address," *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 19 June 1844, 2.

⁷¹⁰ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 113. See also *Samuel Bayard Woodward Profile*, 1264. See also Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 438, citing "Woodward to George Bancroft, March 31, 1842, Woodward Papers, AAS." The work is George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent*, three volumes (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1843).

⁷¹¹ "Court Record," *Boston Daily Atlas*, 18 June 1842, 2.

⁷¹² Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 438, citing "*Boston M. & S. J.*, 1842, 26:129."

wrote to Samuel Bayard on 9 August 1842 seeking hospital statistics. In her closing she included a wish for his continued success in Worcester:

may prosperity continue to bless all Dr. Woodward's professional duties and private life.^[713]

Samuel Bayard provided a November 1842 testimonial that was used in an advertisement for a small printing press made by George C. Taft of Worcester:

This certifies that for nearly a year past I have used in the State Lunatic Hospital, "Taft's Copying Press." It is a beautiful instrument, performing the work well and with great facility. It is sold at less than half the price of any Press of the kind that I have seen. I take great pleasure in recommending it to all public institutions and men of business.^[714]

At the close of 1842, the hospital trustees in their annual report expressed satisfaction that Samuel Bayard turned down the opportunity to head the new hospital in Utica:

The Trustees have nothing to communicate in this Report, which gives them greater satisfaction than that the Commonwealth has escaped the misfortune of losing the invaluable services of Dr. Woodward. His appointment to take charge of the great institution of the State of New York at Utica, occasioned them much anxiety, but it now gives them the greatest pleasure to have it in their power to say, that there is a prospect that he may serve the State, for many years, in a capacity, in which he has, already, acquired an imperishable fame.^[715]

In the superintendent's section of the report, Samuel Bayard again wrote of the value of religion in treating people with psychiatric illness. His comments extended beyond that to include more general comment on its value to all:

God is good, and the contemplation of his character, word and works is peculiarly fitted to afford comfort and hope, when the mind has been subjected to severe trials, and borne down with grief and anguish. The ills of life are many, and all must share in them; as they cannot be avoided, we must learn how to bear them with resignation and hope, to aim at higher enjoyments and more lasting good than this world can afford, cultivate the finer feelings, elevate the character, look more to duty, and less to feeling, as a source of enjoyment, and wait with patience for the reward promised for a life of virtue.

⁷¹³ Dorothea Dix to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 9 August 1842, [1], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 5, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁷¹⁴ "Stationers and Booksellers Look at This!," *Boston Post*, 5 June 1843, 4. The testimonial is dated November 1842.

⁷¹⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 5.

We live in an age of excitement; we love freedom of thought and inquiry, and, regardless of settled principles, wander into the false fields of speculation in search of something more to gratify, or something pleasant to enjoy. Excitement is the aliment of our people; it prompts them to new enterprises in business, to seek for new theories in politics, and novel schemes of religious faith, which at this time seem to be disturbing the quiet repose long felt in creeds which our fathers professed, and which have caused the stability of other times. Political strife, religious vagaries, over-trading, debt, bankruptcy, sudden reverses, disappointed hopes, and the fearful looking for of judgments which are to dissolve the natural elements of time, all seem to have clustered together in these times, and are generally influential in producing insanity.^[716]

The operations of the hospital continued as usual, Samuel Bayard said, and the farm employed more patients than ever:

There is no employment in which they so cheerfully engage as in hay-making. From twenty to thirty workmen were often in the field at one time, all busily employed. At one of my daily visits to the hay-field I found *four homicides* mowing together, performing their work in the best manner, and all cheerful and happy. Of the fifty tons of hay gathered this season, seventy-five per cent. of it was probably mowed, made and gathered in by patients, and the arrangement and beauty of their hay-mows challenge competition any where.^[717]

A new game was introduced at the hospital for the amusement of patients, Samuel Bayard reported:

we have extensively introduced the game of *one pin*, at which a stout, common ball, is rolled at one pin, at each end of the hall; the pin is of leather. The game is an excellent one for exercise, and affords an opportunity to acquire and exhibit much skill in knocking over a pin at the distance of eighty or ninety feet.^[718]

In the spring of 1843 the sect of Millerism caught up many in religious enthusiasm. In a discussion of the movement, a newspaper noted that Samuel Bayard stated that 120 patients in the hospital were there due to “religious excitement.” The newspaper quoted Samuel Bayard:

Some new views of religious truth have recently disturbed many persons who have deep solicitude for their future well being, and have brought a number of patients under our care.— Some of these views are greatly calculated to alarm those who entertain them, and we greatly fear that, for some months to come, this agitation of the public mind may, in this and other communities, add many to the list of the insane.^[719]

⁷¹⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Tenth Report,” tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 61–62.

⁷¹⁷ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Tenth Report,” tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 95.

⁷¹⁸ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Tenth Report,” tenth report, 1842 (published 1843), 98.

⁷¹⁹ “The Northampton Courier,” *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 19 April 1843, 3.

Millerism culminated on 22 October 1844 when a second coming did not occur as predicted, an event that became known as the “Great Disappointment.”^[720]

Samuel Bayard testified at the Boston murder trial of Abner Rogers Jr. in July 1843. Rogers was charged with the murder of Massachusetts State Prison Warden Charles Lincoln Jr. while he was incarcerated at the prison. Samuel Bayard testified that he believed that Rogers’ actions were a result of psychiatric illness:

I should suppose the prisoner’s mind unsound; should think him under a delusion, on account of the consistency of the case, the rarity of this sort of insanity, the difficulty of feigning it, even by one who well understood it, and the almost impossibility of such simulation by one who did not.^[721]

While on the witness stand Samuel Bayard discussed two similar cases at the hospital:

A few days ago, I talked with a patient, over whom I thought I had great influence, and thought I had convinced her for the time that she was under a delusion; when I went out, she came to the door and said, “they say that all you have told me, is a lie;” and of course all her confidence in me was gone; she believed the voices.

in a case at the hospital of a woman who had killed her two children, this act was the first symptom of insanity, and she did not recollect the circumstance of the killing; only retained a painful recollection that something had happened; she is now well, but does not recollect any of the circumstances^[722]

The trial ended in a hung jury.^[723] Rogers was retried in 1844 in a proceeding that was delayed in early January “on account of the illness of Dr. Woodward, of the State Lunatic Hospital, an important witness on the part of the prisoner.”^[724] At retrial Rogers was found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent to the Worcester hospital.^[725]

Several weeks after arriving at the hospital, Rogers committed suicide by diving from a second-floor window. Samuel Bayard was away from the hospital at the time of his death, but described it in a letter:

He desired to go to prayers the night he made the fatal plunge, and was not particularly uneasy till the services were nearly closed. He asked an officer near him to go out with him; that is, to his own room. He told him the service was nearly ended. He then applied to his attendant, who also told him the same. He said to a patient near him, in a whisper, that the room was full of dead bodies. He appeared greatly agitated and

⁷²⁰ Gary Land, *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-Day Adventists* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 2–3.

⁷²¹ “Court Record,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 27 July 1843, 2.

⁷²² “Court Record,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 27 July 1843, 2.

⁷²³ “The Murderer of Warden Lincoln,” Amherst, New Hampshire, *Farmer’s Cabinet*, 4 August 1843, 2.

⁷²⁴ “Court Record,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 3 January 1844, 2.

⁷²⁵ “Abner Rogers, Jr.,” *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 7 February 1844, 3.

apprehensive. He was probably not conscious of anything after the leap, till his death, thirty-six hours after.

I have no idea that Rogers intended to commit suicide. His only object was to escape from dangers, which then seemed to cluster around him. He probably acted from impulse, and as is usual in such cases, was wholly regardless of the consequences of his movements at the time.^[726]

In August 1843 a prospective patient named Theophilus Parsons Phelps was interviewed by Samuel Bayard:

A patient was brought to the Hospital to consult me, some weeks ago, who was possessed with a notion that the surgeons were in quest of his body for the purpose of dissection. None of his relatives, except his brother, whom he made his confidant, had ever discovered that anything was the matter with him. And when I first saw him in company with his brother, I was in doubt myself, which of the two had come as a subject for medical treatment. After a while, in the course of the conversation, he stopped, and asked me “if I thought he was a pig.” A regular course of treatment relieved him of his difficulties, and he is now nearly or quite recovered.^[727]

Phelps had earlier witnessed the will of a wealthy neighbor, and relatives of the neighbor later challenged the will on the basis that Phelps’ psychiatric illness disqualified him from serving in that role. Samuel Bayard provided expert testimony at the trial, which resulted in a verdict that Phelps was a competent witness.^[728]

At about the same time, Samuel Bayard was able to calm a patient who became violent:

A recent inmate in the State Lunatic Asylum, at Worcester, caught a razor, and came near killing another one with it. Dr. Woodward shortly arrived at the scene of assault—to chastise, to confine?—no, he rubbed his chin, and found his beard was out, asked the man to shave him, and sat down for the purpose. Whereupon the maniac, soothed into composure, took the felonious razor and shaved off the beard of the undoubting doctor and marvellous superintendant.^[729]

A later newspaper account expanded on the razor incident, beginning its remarks with a description of Samuel Bayard:

⁷²⁶ George Tyler Bigelow and George Bemis, *Report of the Trial of Abner Rogers, Jr. Indicted for the Murder of Charles Lincoln, Jr.* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1844), 284–286. See also *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 57–59.

⁷²⁷ George Tyler Bigelow and George Bemis, *Report of the Trial of Abner Rogers, Jr. Indicted for the Murder of Charles Lincoln Jr.* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1844), 161.

⁷²⁸ Jeremia Heinik and Kenneth I. Shulman, “A Narrow Definition of Insanity Opined by Medical Experts in the Oliver Smith Will Case in 1847,” “SAGE Open” online journal, 6 December 2011, 3–8, SGo.SagePub.com.

⁷²⁹ “A Recent Inmate,” Pittsfield, Massachusetts, *Berkshire County Whig*, 30 November 1843, 2.

He is a man of commanding and majestic person, tall, portly and thick-set; in physical proportions he is almost *gigantic*.

Samuel Bayard was called when the patient threatened staff members with a blade, the newspaper said:

he brandished a drawn razor, which he had accidentally seized, threatening to kill not only himself but the person attending him, who was naturally excessively frightened. In the terror of alarm, the Doctor was called, who immediately repaired to the raving man with this ejaculation, saying to him remarks to this effect: "Come, come sir, I want to be shaved—wont you shave me?" At the same time the Doctor seated himself to be lathered and was *actually shaved* by that raving and destructive maniac! In the meanwhile he so calmed down his raging and delirious feelings, that afterwards he was not in the least dangerous, while but a few moments before, with a trifle of delay, he would have put an end to his own existence.^[730]

The trustees and superintendent of the hospital submitted their annual report to the state legislature at the close of 1843, and in it the trustees again expressed thanks to Samuel Bayard:

The Trustees would leave unperformed the most grateful part of their duty, if they omitted to record their most full and decided testimony to the zeal, fidelity and assiduous devotion of the Superintendent. His master spirit has pervaded the whole establishment, and he seems to have impressed on all laws of kindness and love. By his gentleness and courtesy, no less than by his skill and energy, has he given a tone and character to this hospital which have made it a model and a praise in our own and foreign lands. Into how many wounded hearts has he poured the healing balm; to how many anxious and sorrowing bosoms has he brought consolation and peace? In this world such public benefactors have an ample reward, in the gratitude of those they have blessed; in the coming world, where there are no disturbed fancies and no clouded vision, they shall have fulness of joy and pleasures forevermore.^[731]

In his annual report of 1843, Samuel Bayard did not repeat the suggestion that he might soon retire. That year he pledged to continue to serve, though only if well enough to do so:

Under the direction of the present respectable and efficient board of trustees, if my health, now recovered, shall be continued to me, I shall, as far as I am able, perform the duties of my station.^[732]

The diet of the patients was again a subject of Samuel Bayard's report, and he again emphasized that the produce of the hospital gardens was a staple of its kitchen:

⁷³⁰ "Worcester Correspondence of the Patriot," *Barre* [Massachusetts] *Patriot*, 27 February 1846, 2.

⁷³¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 10.

⁷³² *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Eleventh Report," eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 95.

Corn and rye bread and wheat bread are both used, as individuals prefer. When we speak of “vegetables,” besides potatoes, which are always on the table at dinner, except Sundays, we have in the season of them green peas, beans, corn, squashes, turnips, beets, onions, cabbage, tomatoes, asparagus, &c., most of which we raise in abundance in our garden and use freely. Salt, pepper, mustard and vinegar are used as condiments. The milk of twelve cows is used in the establishment. Fruit, bread, or pudding and milk, is sometimes a substitute for other meals.^[733]

A student of a New England college came to the hospital after subsisting on a poor diet, Samuel Bayard wrote:

He was poor, and, in order to get through college, he took the plainest and cheapest food. For three months before he became insane he eat nothing but brown bread and molasses, and drank water only.

At the hospital the student ate voraciously, the doctor said:

He usually took *four* or *five* full meals daily. His recovery was very rapid and favorable. He gained *forty* pounds of flesh in less than *three* months, and was, in a short time, able to resume his studies and finish his collegiate course with honor. He is now settled in the ministry, enjoys good health and a sound mind, never having failed to pursue his generous living.^[734]

The mixing of male and female patients at the hospital at dances and other events was seen as improper by some, Samuel Bayard wrote, but he disagreed. Properly chaperoned social mixing was as good for patients as it was for those in a healthy state, he argued.

The influence they have upon each other every where else, in schools, churches, and the social circle, when judiciously admitted, is equally favorable here. I would increase rather than diminish it^[735]

Samuel Bayard had a similar view on the subject of the coeducation of young people. Young men and women should interact frequently, he said, and men who attend all-male colleges and do not interact with women are less developed than their counterparts who work instead of going to school:

⁷³³ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eleventh Report,” eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 71.

⁷³⁴ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eleventh Report,” eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 75.

⁷³⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Eleventh Report,” eleventh report, 1843 (published 1844), 80–81. See also Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 91. See also Perlman, “Samuel Bayard Woodward,” 80, citing “S. B. W. to Seth Sweetser, Dec. 23, 1843, MS in American Antiquarian Society, Woodward Papers.”

Young men who have a collegiate education especially if they have not constantly sought female society have less polish, and more awkward manners than merchants, teachers and others of the same standing, and especially those who have kept up social and friendly intercourse with female society.

In the presence of ladies, young men sit, walk, talk, and appear differently from what they do in the society of their own sex.

Who ever heard a young man use profane or obscene language in the presence of females of any age.^[736]

Samuel Bayard wrote a letter to a friend, Charles Sedgwick, on 16 January 1844 in which he described his satisfaction with his work:

I am every year becoming more closely wedded to this institution. Ten year's residence here has made it my home; the duty is easy and agreeable to me, and the 1800 patients that have been and are now under my care, *seem like children and kindred*; nothing cheers me so much as the approbation of my friends, yourself and family, and a hundred other kindred spirits here and elsewhere, whose confidence we are most happy to have secured, whose encouragements prompt me to persevering effort.^[737]

Two months later, however, Samuel Bayard wrote a letter to Horace Mann suggesting he was considering retirement:

The duties in the institution are becoming more arduous from year to year, and this will be the hardest of any, as we shall have greatly increased labor in getting the new wings into operation. I have felt quite at a loss whether to attempt to go on or give up the duty entirely. It is no place for a sick or irresolute man.^[738]

The hospital trustees expressed concern about Samuel Bayard's health as well. In their report for 1844, they said that at their urging the superintendent agreed to travel to the south for his health and for the good of the hospital:

For its success we are largely indebted to the energy, ability and untiring exertions of Doct. Samuel B. Woodward, who has been the Superintendent from its beginning, and who has himself built it up and made it what it now is. He has already spent a large portion of his useful life in the care of this and other public institutions; and we regret that we have to state that during the last spring and summer the Trustees thought his health so precarious, and so much impaired by confinement and close application to duties beyond what he had strength to perform, that they enjoined it upon him to break off at once from his duties here, and take a journey to the south for the benefit

⁷³⁶ Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 99, citing "S. B. W. to Seth Sweetser, December 22, 1843, MS in Worcester State Hospital, Woodward Papers."

⁷³⁷ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 118, citing "Woodward to Charles Sedgwick, January 16, 1844, in Woodward, 'Collected Writings,' Vol. III, Library of Worcester State Hospital."

⁷³⁸ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 119, citing "Woodward to Mann, March 11, 1844, Woodward Papers, AAS."

of his own health. He was absent two months, returned somewhat improved, and as we trust derived some information that may prove beneficial to all.

We feel grateful that the life, health and usefulness of our Superintendent has been so long continued to us; but the time must come when age or infirmity will require a release from some portion of his present arduous duties.^[739]

Samuel Bayard took two trips to the south in 1844. During the first in the spring he toured hospitals in other states, including Pennsylvania and Virginia. In a meeting with Dr. Francis T. Stribling in Staunton, Virginia, the two doctors resolved to establish an association of hospital superintendents. The result was the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, an organization that would later become the American Psychiatric Association. He traveled south again in the fall to the first meeting of thirteen superintendents, which took place at the Jones Hotel on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia at 10 a.m. on 16 October 1844. At that meeting Samuel Bayard was elected the organization's first president, a post he held until 11 May 1848.^[740]

Back at the hospital in Worcester, patients continued to arrive. In 1844 a man was sent to the hospital from the Massachusetts state prison. Samuel Bayard reported that he died of lung fever soon after his arrival:

He was a colored man, born a slave, and was supposed to have escaped from his master in Baltimore. He had been in solitary confinement four months previous to this illness. His delusion was respecting a "perpetual motion" which he had discovered, and which the world were using to move steam-boats, rail-cars, and all kinds of carriages.

He was fond of playing the violin, in which amusement he was indulged, though he had no knowledge of music^[741]

Late in 1844 Samuel Bayard was mentioned in a Boston newspaper advertisement for a pamphlet on the latest advances in medicine. *Facts and Important Discoveries*, the

⁷³⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 4.

⁷⁴⁰ Walter E. Barton, *The History and Influence of the American Psychiatric Association* (Washington, D. C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1987), 37–39, 176, 303–304, 336. In assessing the role of Samuel Bayard in the founding of the association, Barton states that the first meeting "probably was his brainchild" (page 38). In 2019 more than 38,500 medical professionals were members of the American Psychiatric Association. See American Psychiatric Association, "About APA," publication date not provided, Psychiatry.org. For a biographical profile and the text of a resolution offered upon the retirement of Samuel Bayard from the presidency of the organization, see John Curwen, *History of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane* (Warren, Pennsylvania: E. Cowan & Company, 1885), 12–15.

⁷⁴¹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Twelfth Report," twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 33–34.

advertisement said, was “recommended by some of our most eminent physicians, among whom is Dr. Woodward, of Worcester.”^[742]

In his 1844 annual report to the legislature, Samuel Bayard described his treatment of children, some as young as two years of age. The youngest of the children apparently made visits to the hospital with their parents instead of residing there:

These little patients have intelligent faces, well formed bodies, good developments of the head and active minds. Their movements are free, easy and graceful, many of them are sprightly, even handsome; they are generally restless, irritable and extremely mischievous, and are rarely able to speak.^[743]

Editors of newspapers around New England were to be thanked for sending their publications to the hospital, Samuel Bayard wrote. The patients looked forward to the “pleasant associations these weekly messengers awaken of home, friends, and by-gone scenes”:

Many patients read newspapers when they would read little or nothing else; and as the assistant physician enters the ward with the daily supply of papers, many a hopeless patient comes eagerly forward to receive them; and they pass from patient to patient till they are completely worn out, one reading the stories, another the politics, a third the ship news, and others the poetry, agricultural intelligence, etc., each as his taste may dictate.^[744]

Among the patients were some especially productive workers, the superintendent wrote. One was paid for cutting wood, though most worked for the benefit of the institution:

One patient last winter sawed and split 75 to 80 cords of wood, at a stipulated price, which was paid him by the Steward.

One female has, in the course of the last year, bound 790 pairs of shoes, made 40 pairs of pantaloons and 32 vests, besides mending and much other work.^[745]

In closing his report, the fifty-seven year old Samuel Bayard made it clear that his health remained impaired:

I would express my thanks to the Board of Trustees for many indulgencies, during the past year, extended to myself personally, in a season of ill health, and for their kindness

⁷⁴² “Facts and Important Discoveries,” *Boston Emancipator and Republican*, 27 November 1844, 124.

⁷⁴³ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 47–50.

⁷⁴⁴ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 93–94.

⁷⁴⁵ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 96–97.

to my family, no less than for the care and scrutiny with which they have managed the affairs of the Hospital.^[746]

Samuel Bayard wrote an essay in 1845 entitled “Religious Belief,” in which he expressed a firm belief in God and described what he saw as the duties of Christians. Among twelve core beliefs he listed were the following:

To our fellow men we owe kindness, sympathy, benevolence and charity—aid in suffering and sickness; assistance in poverty, means of instruction in ignorance, forgiveness of injuries, and rejoicing in prosperity. I believe in the golden rule, “do unto others as we should, in like circumstances, wish that they should do unto us.”

I believe it to be our duty to cultivate cheerfulness and good will, to exhibit fortitude in suffering, calmness under trials, and to remove and repel far from us a grumbling and complaining spirit.^[747]

Samuel Bayard wrote religious hymns as well. Subjects of the hymns included giving thanks for health and food and sharing with the poor.^[748]

As to politics, Samuel Bayard late in life was a supporter of the Whig Party. Chandler noted, however, that Samuel Bayard was not involved in politics during his time at the Worcester hospital:

He was decided and was always ready to advocate his principles, but never over strenuous in promulgating them. He kept aloof from party strife as much as he could and be decided.

While connected with the Hospital, he did not go to the polls. Duty to the institution he thought, required him to take no active part in politics.^[749]

Samuel Bayard served as an expert witness for the defense in the trial of Orrin De Wolf for the murder of William Stiles in a session of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court held in Worcester on 10 June 1845. The subject of Samuel Bayard’s testimony was the forensic science of strangulation:

I have witnessed post mortem examinations—the usual symptoms of strangulation are—face turgid and dark, eyes open and staring, lips livid, tongue dark, and indentations on the neck. The effects of strangulation and suffocation on the internal organs, I should suppose the same—lungs filled with dark blood, left side of the heart nearly empty—right side full of fluid blood. I frequently see red marks on the neck of the insane caused by ligatures applied by themselves. In some cases these marks have remained for 7 to 12 days, and yet the patient has survived.

⁷⁴⁶ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Twelfth Report,” twelfth report, 1844 (published 1844), 99.

⁷⁴⁷ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 117–119. For more on Samuel Bayard’s religious beliefs, see Grob, “Practice of Psychiatry,” 422–423.

⁷⁴⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 119–120.

⁷⁴⁹ Chandler, “Dr. Woodward,” 122.

De Wolf was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging.^[750]

Dr. Thomas Kirkbride of Philadelphia toured the Worcester hospital in June 1845. In his notes he lauded Samuel Bayard's optimism, but was critical of the superintendent's reluctance to address developing problems in the increasingly crowded hospital:

Dr. Woodward has the happy temperament, which believes whatever he has, is the best that can be had, and of course never seems very anxious for any improvement.^[751]

Samuel Bayard seemed to acknowledge Kirkbride's criticism in a letter to him in December 1845:

My views of insanity and Hospitals will not probably be changed at my time of life. Improvements must be introduced by the younger men.^[752]

In the fall of 1845 Samuel Bayard attended a temperance convention in Worcester. A person in attendance noted that the superintendent was chosen chairman of the convention and compared him to George Washington:

Dr. Woodward, the best living likeness of General Washington, perhaps, was placed in the chair.^[753]

The conventioneer was not the only person to point out Samuel Bayard's resemblance to the first president. Dr. Andrew McFarland, who followed George Chandler as superintendent of the New Hampshire state hospital, also noted the resemblance after a visit to the Worcester hospital:

In the front rank of those who are toiling for this system of humane treatment, stands Dr. Woodward, the highly distinguished superintendent of this institution. No man could be more admirably adapted to the station, he occupies, than himself.— Tall, erect and commanding in appearance, he is probably in stature and physiognomy the best living representation of the distinguished Washington, save that the latter was distinguished for his gravity, while Dr. W. has a flow of cheerfulness and humor rarely surpassed. So striking, indeed, is the resemblance, that I perceived many of the patients applied to him the familiar cognomen, "General."^[754]

⁷⁵⁰ *Trial of Orrin De Wolf for the Murder of Wm. Stiles, at Worcester, Jan. 14, 1845*, third edition (Worcester, Massachusetts: Thomas Drew Jr., 1845), 3, 8, 14.

⁷⁵¹ Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 439, citing "Thomas S. Kirkbride Papers, Historical Library, Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa."

⁷⁵² Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 442, citing "Woodward to Dr. Thomas Kirkbride, December 31, 1845, Kirkbride Papers."

⁷⁵³ "State Temperance Convention at Worcester," *Boston Emancipator and Republican*, 24 September 1845, 85.

⁷⁵⁴ "Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital," *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 25 December 1845, 1. McFarland is identified as the author of the account in "Insane Asylum," *Amherst, New Hampshire, Farmer's Cabinet*, 1 January 1846, 1.

Years later, Henry B. Stanton, husband of abolitionist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, expressed similar sentiments in a memoir:

I boarded for some months in Boston at the United States Hotel. Whenever he visited the city, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, Principal of the Insane Asylum at Worcester, dined at that hotel. As he walked erect and majestic through the long room to the head of the table, every knife and fork rested, and all eyes centred on him. He received similar notice when appearing as an expert witness in the courts. The reason was this: Young men who saw George Washington after he passed middle life traced the very close resemblance between him and Dr. Woodward. Aware of the cause, the doctor was flattered by these attentions.^[755]

McFarland provided a detailed description of his tour of the hospital on 12 November 1845. Samuel Bayard led him through the wards, introducing him to patients along the way:

“That man,” said the doctor, pointing to an industrious looking man, quietly engaged in seeding a pile of broom corn, “is the notorious New Hampshire homicide, Titcomb, and the man you see crossing the hall before us, is the author of a murder still more atrocious.”

Strolling along a little further, we opened a door, and perceived with his back turned to us, a thin, sharp featured gentleman of sober aspect, who rose from his chair upon our entrance, and with a patronizing sort of bow, exclaimed with an air corresponding to his delusion—“I’m the Lord Jesus Christ; I just came down from Heaven in an ivory chariot with ten thousand golden horses; I made the sun, moon and stars, and what’s more, I keep ’em all going too.” Then he made a circular motion with his right hand, which led a visitor to ask him how often he *wound them up*. “Oh you d—,” and here he burst forth into a chapter of the keenest invective, pouring a shower of the most scorching maledictions upon the hapless interrogator, closing with—“I thought I was talking to a man of sense, and here the Lord Jesus Christ is wasting his precious breath upon a parcel of miscreants.”^[756]

Ten days later, on 22 November 1845, Samuel Bayard was among 475 people who traveled to Plymouth to memorialize the landing of the Pilgrims. Events of the day included a church service, a procession, songs, and a dinner featuring toasts and speeches.^[757]

Also in the fall of 1845, a newspaper described a visit by another reporter to the Worcester hospital:

It is still under the superindence of Dr. Woodward, one of the most enlightened and benevolent men of the age; and to whom the country is greatly indebted for an

⁷⁵⁵ Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections*, third edition (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 148–149.

⁷⁵⁶ “Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital,” *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, 25 December 1845, 1.

⁷⁵⁷ “The Landing of the Pilgrims Anniversary,” *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 31 December 1845, 3.

amelioration of the condition of the insane, and introducing a kind system of treating these unfortunates, in place of the harsh and cruel usage to which they were formerly suffering

The newspaper described the agricultural pursuits of the patients, noting that four men who had committed homicide worked together “with axes or scythes in their hands” without incident.

Among his patients, Dr. W. had one who became exceedingly ambitious of farming upon his own hook. At length, the Doctor good-humoredly yielded to his importunities, and gave him possession of a field in rear of the hospital, on which to expend his *eccentricities*. The field was in grass, and the surface of it slightly descending from the rear of the buildings. Near the sides of these he constructed little ponds into which he drained the water from the roofs, and the urine from the water closets, let it stand and well amalgamate a few days, and then he conducted this liquid, quite evenly, by means of narrow, shallow ditches, over all his field. The result was, that this field yielded six cuttings of grass, of about one ton each per acre—making six tons per acre—during the first season!^[758]

At the close of 1845, the trustees submitted their annual report to the legislature and again lauded the work of Samuel Bayard:

And here we would pay that tribute to the merit which is so justly due to our excellent Superintendent. Well educated in the science of medicine, for more than 20 years devoted to its practice, combining kindness of heart with decision and energy of character, Dr. Woodward was peculiarly qualified to take charge of the Institution; and now with 13 years experience in this particular department of medicine, possessing the entire confidence of all our predecessors, we were prepared to expect that the duties of his office would be ably and faithfully performed, and we have not been disappointed.^[759]

For the first time, two of Samuel Bayard’s sons were listed as employees of the hospital. Rufus Woodward, 26, was listed as an assistant physician at an annual salary of \$500 plus room and board. Henry Woodward, 23, was employed as a clerk at a salary of \$100 plus room and board.^[760] Rufus would continue as an assistant physician after the retirement of his father in June 1846.^[761]

In his section of the report, Samuel Bayard described the care of a young patient:

⁷⁵⁸ “Among Other Places Which We Visited,” Sing Sing, New York, *Hudson River Chronicle*, 25 November 1845, 4.

⁷⁵⁹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, “Report,” thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 7.

⁷⁶⁰ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, “Report,” thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 7. See also *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Alfred Dwight Foster, “Treasurer’s Report,” thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 15. See also *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Thirteenth Report,” thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 89–90.

⁷⁶¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 18.

A young man now favorably convalescing, told me that when he was first attacked with insanity, he saw beautiful visions in the room over his head, ships, fishes, steam-boats, and all sorts of water craft, heard heavenly music, saw immense crowds of people come to pay him homage, among whom he recognized uncles, aunts, cousins and other friends. These he now admits were fancies, not realities; but when he was on his way to the Hospital, he saw immense trains of rail-road cars transporting slaves to the Pacific Ocean, passing by with great rapidity, fully loaded with colored persons. "This," says he, "I think was a reality."^[762]

In reference to another patient, Samuel Bayard alluded to the use of "galvanism," an early form of electroshock therapy that delivered electricity from a battery through conducting gel spread on the hands.^[763]

A twelve-year-old girl was recently admitted as a patient at the hospital, Samuel Bayard said:

Our first effort was to correct some of her disagreeable habits, one of which was a continued spitting upon herself and the floor. This habit was entirely controlled in a few weeks. She was next made to take an interest in piling blocks, which were daily brought to her. When she got out of patience with these, she repeatedly threw them out of the window, and would neither go for them nor put them away. After a time, she became interested in them, amused herself very much with them, and will now pack them nicely in the box when she has done with them, and go for them when she desires to renew the amusement. After this she took a fancy to dolls, in which she became greatly interested; she will now dress them and amuse herself with these, and other toys familiar to children.

After much effort, the girl's attendants were able to teach her to sew, he said:

The success of these efforts encourages us to persevere. It is easier to advance in improvement than to begin it, and we are not without hope that this interesting being will not only be able to take care of herself, but in some degree, to be useful to her friends, and perhaps gain knowledge which shall show her her own responsibilities, moral duties and obligations. It is no small achievement in any case to make a responsible agent out of an irresponsible one, but to make an intelligent woman of an insane infant, who has grown to womanhood without developments of mind or morals, is an attempt worthy of patient trial.^[764]

⁷⁶² Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 51.

⁷⁶³ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 55. For more on galvanism, see John Langone, Bruce Stutz, Andrea Gianopoulos, *Theories for Everything: An Illustrated History of Science* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2006), 365.

⁷⁶⁴ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 84–85. See also William Provencher, "Samuel B. Woodward and the Medical and Moral Challenges of Insanity," 1988 American Studies Seminar, American Antiquarian Society, 6 December 1988, AAS Seminar Papers 1988, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, 24, citing "Woodward to Frederick Backus, January 8, 1846, Woodward Papers, AAS, box 1, folder 6."

The harmful effect of tobacco was also the subject of Samuel Bayard's annual report:

The uninitiated cannot smoke a cigar, or use tobacco in any form, without unpleasant effects,—how then can it be possible that a poison so active can be used with impunity? The stomach and brain, subjected to such influences, will become diseased, and show their effects as certainly as if alcohol were used. If asked my medical opinion, which was safest, four glasses of wine or four quids of tobacco, daily, I should say unhesitatingly the *wine*. Of the two evils, this would, in my opinion, be the least. Tobacco is the strongest, most dangerous narcotic—the habit of its use is the strongest and most difficult to overcome, and the influence felt from it most baneful and destructive to health.^[765]

In closing his report, Samuel Bayard made it clear that he intended to soon retire:

I am admonished by the lapse of *thirteen years*, since I assumed the management of this institution, that I should resign the charge into other hands, before age shall compel me to relinquish it, or the time shall arrive when I may not be able to judge of my own qualifications for the trust. I was here at the opening of the institution, received the first patient, and have since received more than *twenty-three hundred*, a greater number than were ever in the care of one man in this country. I am now the senior Superintendent, both by age, and duration of office. I have enjoyed much in my intercourse with this unfortunate class of individuals. I have witnessed, with much satisfaction, the gleaming of intellect, which had been long shrouded by insanity; have seen hopes revive, delusions vanish, false judgments give way to returning reason, and the mind and moral sensibilities restored, and established in health and vigor. There are pleasures to be derived from rendering good custodial care to the insane who have been neglected, abused, and subjected to various sufferings; but to be instrumental in the *recovery* of the insane, affords higher enjoyment, and is an abundant reward for all needed sacrifices and efforts. In Hospitals for the insane, there are many trials, and I have had my share. In my intercourse with patients, however, where few have repelled me, hundreds have greeted me cordially and affectionately, and after recovery, have left me with grateful hearts and kind benedictions.^[766]

Samuel Bayard served as an expert witness in the trial of Albert John Tirrell in the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in Boston. Tirrell was charged with murdering Mary Ann Bickford and attempting to cover up the crime by burning down the house in which it occurred. Tirrell's lawyer claimed that his client had committed the act while sleepwalking. Samuel Bayard served as an expert witness on the disorder of sleepwalking, testifying on 27 March 1846 that several of his patients were sleepwalkers and declaring that it was possible that Tirrell committed the crime while asleep:

⁷⁶⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 66–67.

⁷⁶⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Thirteenth Report," thirteenth report, 1845 (published 1846), 90–91.

In this Somnambulic state, a *person can dress himself, can consistently commit a homicide, set the house on fire, and run out in the street.* I think from the evidence in this case, there must be somnambulism. Formerly, his cases may have been merely sleep-walking, and afterwards aggravated to somnambulism. The moral faculties, as in case of insanity, are changed and much affected. A person in a state of insanity is dreaming awake, as a somnambulist is dreaming asleep. They act on false premises, and have lost the regulating power of their minds.

The jury found Tirrell not guilty, but stated that the verdict was based on other evidence and that “the question of Somnambulism had not entered into the consideration of the Jury.”^[767]

A patient who was discharged from the hospital a month later was featured in a news item after stopping in a newspaper office on his way to meet his family:

Old father Lamson, who was liberated from the Insane Hospital in Worcester last week, called on the editor of the Barre Gazette, and stated that “the head of the great whale that floats on the sea of error,” had vomited him forth on dry land about two o’clock the day before; and he was then on his way to Shelburne Falls, where are some of his children. At our request says the Gazette, he explained his allegorical language, and said that the “head of the great whale that floats on the sea of error,” was no other than Dr. Samuel Woodward of the Insane Asylum, and he thought [“]the priests, lawyers and doctors throught the country might be the body, tail and fins.”^[768]

At about the same time, Samuel Bayard was the subject of an apparent joke from a witness at a criminal trial who said as an aside that “Dr. Woodward, was *raving mad* upon the subject of *insanity*.”^[769]

A Nantucket whaler named Reuben Delano was treated at the Worcester hospital sometime during Samuel Bayard’s tenure as superintendent. In 1846 Delano published a narrative of his voyages to the Pacific entitled *Wanderings and Adventures of Reuben Delano*. Delano dedicated the book to Samuel Bayard, “Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital, as a slight testimonial of gratitude for his kindness and attention while under his care.”^[770]

During the 1840s, Samuel Bayard had several episodes of illness.^[771] His health was the main reason that in the spring of 1846 he announced his retirement from his

⁷⁶⁷ J. E. P. Weeks, *Trial of Albert John Tirrell for the Murder of Mary Ann Bickford, in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts Holden at Boston, Tuesday, March 24th, 1846* (Boston: Boston Daily Times, 1846), 4, 25, 29–30, 34–35, 39.

⁷⁶⁸ “Variety,” Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 6 May 1846, 4.

⁷⁶⁹ “The Trial of Wilbar vs. Williams,” *Barre* [Massachusetts] *Patriot*, 8 May 1846, 3.

⁷⁷⁰ David W. Forbes, compiler, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780–1900*, two volumes (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 2:468–469, citing Reuben Delano, *Wanderings and Adventures of Reuben Delano, Being a Narrative of Twelve Years Life in a Whale Ship* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Thomas Drew Jr., 1846).

⁷⁷¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 17.

hospital position in Worcester and his plans to move with his family to a house he purchased in Northampton, Massachusetts:^[772]

The people of Massachusetts will learn with regret, that Dr. S. B. Woodward has resigned his office as Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital in this town. It is eminently an institution of his own creation, and to his wisdom (and we can not find a more expressive word) it owes the eminence it has attained among the philanthropic institutions of the day. We learned that Dr. Woodward has purchased the Whitmarsh place at Northampton, which he designs to make his future residence so soon as his place in the Hospital can be supplied. The benedictions of the people will attend him in his retirement to private life.^[773]

Before leaving his post, Samuel Bayard presented a paper on the medical treatment of psychiatric illness at a May 1846 meeting of hospital superintendents.^[774] He began by stating that optimism on the part of the doctor is beneficial to the state of mind of the patient:

The mind must be managed, hope inspired, and confidence secured, to insure success in the treatment of any important disease.^[775]

Samuel Bayard also reiterated his belief that drawing small amounts of blood through the use of leeches or other means was acceptable but that heavy bloodletting should be abandoned:

In a very large proportion of cases it is said to have done no good, in many, positive evil. Copious bleeding is almost universally injurious.^[776]

Samuel Bayard was guarded in his assessment of the newly introduced medicine *Cannabis indica*, “the Indian hemp of the East Indies,” a variety of marijuana.^[777] He enthusiastically endorsed the administering of opium, especially in cases of depression:

In certain cases of melancholy the patient is made tranquil and comparatively happy by the use of this remedy, the sleep becomes more quiet, and under its influence the person is able to pursue labor and amusement, when without it his suffering and despondency would wholly prevent him from engaging in any employment.^[778]

⁷⁷² Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 111. See also Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁷⁷³ “Resignation of Dr. Woodward,” *Barre [Massachusetts] Gazette*, 17 April 1846, 2. See also “Dr. Woodward,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 18 April 1846, 1. See also “Dr. Woodward,” *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 22 April 1846, 3.

⁷⁷⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 1.

⁷⁷⁵ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 1.

⁷⁷⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 4.

⁷⁷⁷ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 10–11.

⁷⁷⁸ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 11, 22.

Despite his ardent support of the temperance movement, Samuel Bayard noted in the paper that he sometimes prescribed alcoholic drinks such as wine, porter, ale, and malt liquor.^[779]

In summation, Samuel Bayard said that the treatment of psychiatric illness had significantly advanced over the previous half century:

The abandonment of depletion, external irritants, drastic purges and starvation, and the substitution of baths, narcotics, tonics, and generous diet, is not less to be appreciated in the improved condition of the insane, than the change from manacles, chains, by-locks and confining chairs, to the present system of kindness, confidence, social intercourse, labor, religious teaching, and freedom from restraint.

But we should not be satisfied with present attainments. Much undoubtedly remains to be done for them. Good influences are everywhere operating, and we may confidently hope that what is overlooked by the passing generation, which might have been beneficial to them, will be supplied by their successors.^[780]

During the Washington, D.C., meeting, and apparently after the delivery of his paper, Samuel Bayard became seriously ill.^[781] A Boston newspaper reported initially that he had suffered a stroke:

Dr. Woodward, the Superintendent of the Massachusetts State Asylum for the Insane, at Worcester, was stricken with paralysis, at Washington, on Saturday, and his situation is considered precarious.^[782]

A day later, the same newspaper said that the initial report was inaccurate:

We are much gratified to learn that the paragraph, which we copied into our paper of yesterday—stating that Dr. Woodward, the excellent Superintendent of the Massachusetts Asylum for the Insane, at Worcester, had been stricken with paralysis, at Washington—is incorrect. Dr. Woodward has been somewhat indisposed at Washington, but has recovered his health, and is on his return to his residence at Worcester. At the last accounts, he was at Middletown, Conn.^[783]

The malady plaguing Samuel Bayard during the trip was “bilious colic.”^[784]

Immediately after returning to Worcester Samuel Bayard wrote a will in which he listed items for his wife Maria and each of his children. The lists reveal that in June 1846 Samuel Bayard owned an extensive library, several items made of precious metals, and a collection of walking sticks. Valuable items included “silver plate,” a “gold

⁷⁷⁹ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 14, 17.

⁷⁸⁰ Samuel Bayard Woodward, “Observations,” 33–34.

⁷⁸¹ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁷⁸² “By Last Night’s Mails,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 28 May 1846, 2.

⁷⁸³ “We are Much Gratified,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 29 May 1846, 2.

⁷⁸⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary. Bilious colic is a generalized complaint with symptoms of nausea, headache, constipation, abdominal pain, fever, and vomiting. See George Gregory, *Elements of the Theory and Practice of Physic*, fourth edition (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1835), 537–539.

pencil," a "Silver watch with chain and Key," an "elegant pruning knife," "Surgeons instruments," and "maps and pictures."

Each of Samuel Bayard's sons was to receive a walking stick. Charles received "the cane walking stick that was my fathers"; Rufus, "my ebony ivory headed walking stick"; Stanley, "my ivory headed walking stick, the present of Mr. McFarland to me"; Henry, "my walking stick which belonged to his Uncle whose name he bears"; Samuel, "my silver headed ebony walking stick"; and Edwin, "my Constitutional walking stick."

Samuel Bayard stated that "I leave my papers and manuscripts to my family, to be preserved and distributed or destroyed as they shall decide. And my will is that they be disposed of immediately after my decease."^[785]

⁷⁸⁵ Samuel Bayard Woodward Will. See also Hampshire County Probate, 47:456–459. Samuel Bayard listed the following titles in his book collection: "Harper's Pictorial Bible," "Rollins Ancient History," "Mallory's life of Henry Clay," "Sparks life of Gen. Washington," "Life and writings of Benj. Franklin," a "sett of Audubons Birds," "History of England in 15 Vols," "Encyclopedia in 13 Vols," "Bancroft's History in 3 Vols.," "Cotton's Life of Henry Clay," "Goldsmith's works," "Chapel Liturgy," "Coit's Bible," "Johnson's Lives of the Poets," "Webster's Bibles," "Robertson's Histories," "Gibbons Rome," "Ferguson's Rome," "Silliman's Journal," "Beaties works," "Lavaters Physiognomy," "Reids Works," and "Godman's Natural History." The books were probably the following (though some of them appeared in many editions): J. A. Adams, editor, *Harper's Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846); Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes & Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1805); Daniel Mallory, editor, *The Life and Speeches of the Hon. Henry Clay*, two volumes (New York: R. P. Bixby & Company, 1843); Jared Sparks, *The Life of George Washington* (Boston: John B. Russell, 1837); *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, six volumes (Philadelphia: William Duane, 1800–1818); John James Audubon, *The Birds of America*, seven volumes (Philadelphia: J. B. Chevalier, 1840–1844); David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688*, seven volumes (Boston: William McIlhenny, 1810); Francis Lieber, E. Wigglesworth, and T. G. Bradford, *Encyclopaedia Americana: A Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics and Biography, Brought Down to the Present Time*, thirteen volumes (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Carey, 1829–1833); George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent*, three volumes (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1843); Calvin Cotton, *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*, two volumes (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1846); Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works*, four volumes (London: Henry Washbourne, 1837); James Freeman, *A Liturgy Collected for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel, Boston* (Boston: Joshua Belcher, 1811); Thomas Winthrop Coit, editor, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments* (Boston: William Peirce, 1834); Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets with Critical Observations on Their Works*, two volumes (Charlestown, Massachusetts: Samuel Etheridge Jr., 1810); Noah Webster, editor, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, in the Common Version* (New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1833); William Robertson, *The Works of William Robertson*, twelve volumes (London: Cadell and Davies, 1812); Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, eight volumes (Philadelphia: Abraham Small and M. Carey, 1816); Adam Ferguson, *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1799); Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland*, two volumes (New York: D. & G. Bruce, 1810); James Beattie, *The Poetic Works of James Beattie* (London: W. Pickering, 1831); Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, third edition (London: B. Blake, 1840); Dugald Stewart, editor, *The Works of Thomas Reid, with an Account of His Life and Writings*, four volumes (Charlestown, Massachusetts: Samuel Etheridge Jr., 1813–1815); John D. Godman, *American Natural History*, third edition, two volumes (Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson, 1836).

On 30 June 1846, Dr. George Chandler was named the new superintendent of the Worcester hospital and Samuel Bayard's tenure officially ended. Chandler had been Samuel Bayard's assistant in Worcester before departing in 1842 to head the New Hampshire state hospital.^[786] During nearly fourteen years at the hospital, the fifty-nine year old Samuel Bayard oversaw a total of 2,642 patients.^[787]

The trustees of the hospital accepted Samuel Bayard's resignation in a letter dated 24 June 1846, saying that members of the board had observed his unwavering dedication to the institution:

They have witnessed, during the whole period of their official connection, constantly accumulating evidence of the magnitude and value of your services,—of your fidelity to your various and complicated duties, and of the good judgment, equanimity, alacrity, patience and energy with which you have performed them,—of the considerate regard and kindness which you have manifested towards the patients,—of your dignified and respectful intercourse with your official associates and subordinates,—and of the urbanity which has always marked your reception of visitors, and which, through its visible connection with all desirable higher qualities, has done so much to secure to the Hospital the large share of public favor it has invariably enjoyed.^[788]

In their annual report for 1846, the trustees of the hospital again noted Samuel Bayard's retirement:

the Trustees are obliged at this time to report the actual retirement from office of its *first Superintendent*, who had nearly completed a period of *fourteen* years, exclusively devoted to the regular and punctilious discharge of most laborious and self-sacrificing duties. It is unnecessary for the Trustees to refer, in any detail, to his services. All that the Hospital has been and is; all that has made it a blessing and a glory to the Commonwealth, and a model institution for the whole country, is to be attributed, in an eminent degree, to the professional skill, the personal address and energy, the conscientious fidelity, and the pure and ardent philanthropy of Samuel B. Woodward; and while the institution shall exist, his name cannot cease to be most honorably and gratefully associated with it. It was with the greatest reluctance, after repeated efforts to avert it, that the Trustees yielded to his decision to leave the Hospital; but, in doing so at last, they were compelled to admit the justness of his views in regard to the state of his health, which had evidently been impaired by his official labors, and also to defer to the private considerations to which, as they well knew, he had long delayed to give their due weight.^[789]

⁷⁸⁶ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Stephen Salisbury, "Extract from the Record of the Monthly Visitation," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 10. See also "Dr. George W. Chandler," *Barre [Massachusetts] Gazette*, 3 July 1846, 2. See also "Dr. Chandler," *Keene New Hampshire Sentinel*, 8 July 1846, 2.

⁷⁸⁷ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Stephen Salisbury, "Extract from the Record of the Monthly Visitation," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 10.

⁷⁸⁸ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 24 June 1846, in "Correspondence between Dr. Woodward and the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital," fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 11.

⁷⁸⁹ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Report," fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 5.

On 30 June 1846 a committee of the city of Worcester wrote a letter to Samuel Bayard acknowledging his “impaired health and exhausted strength, by years of anxious responsibility and unremitted duty, which now seems to demand for you, temporary relaxation and retirement.” The committee said that “the citizens of Worcester”

respectfully ask, that to give visible impression to the sentiments of esteem and respect, which they entertain towards you, you would permit a Marble Bust to be executed, at their expense, by a competent artist, whom they will engage to consult the opportunity of your convenience in the work,—to be placed, and forever retained, (with the consent of the Government of the State) in the Institution, which has been successfully established by the instrumentality of your care and skill, and will remain a lasting blessing to the Country through the influence of your past superintendence.^[790]

Samuel Bayard wrote back on 16 July 1846 agreeing to the request and approving the selection of “Mr. King” to execute the bust.^[791]

More than a year later, sculptor John C. King announced in a broadside that he had completed the bust at his studio at 259 Washington Street in Boston:

A Bust of Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, which has just been finished by John C. King, to be placed in the State Asylum at Worcester, in compliance with an order of the friends of Dr. Woodward, is now on Exhibition for a few days, at the Store of N. D. Cotton, No. 13, Tremont Row. The friends of Art are requested to call and see it.^[792]

Samuel Bayard’s successor George Chandler said the bust cost about \$700 and was “an exact figure of the original.”^[793]

Samuel Bayard and his family moved to Northampton in July 1846.^[794] Chandler described their lives after the move:

After leaving the Hospital, his time was fully occupied, mostly in professional matters. His pecuniary resources were ample for all his wants, and that of his family, which consisted of a most judicious and excellent wife and two affectionate daughters. His six sons were in a fair way of honourably supporting themselves.^[795]

⁷⁹⁰ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 114–116. See also “Dr. S. B. Woodward,” *Columbus Ohio State Journal*, 22 July 1846, 4. See also “Dr. Samuel B. Woodward,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, 7 August 1846, 2.

⁷⁹¹ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 117.

⁷⁹² Broadsides, American Antiquarian Society, “A Bust of Dr. Samuel B. Woodward,” 30 November 1847, BDSDS 1847, item 6859.

⁷⁹³ Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 19. The bust was on display in the staff library of the newly reconstructed Worcester State Hospital in October 2012. See Vernon Powell “Woody” (Woodward) Bliss, “Notes of Call with Antonio ‘Tony’ Riccitelli, Chief Operating Officer, Worcester, MA, State Hospital,” 23 October 2012, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁷⁹⁴ Worcester State Hospital Reports, George Chandler, “Superintendent’s Report,” eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 16.

⁷⁹⁵ Chandler, “Dr. Woodward,” 129.

Temperance activities were a priority for Samuel Bayard in his retirement. In 1846 he joined two other reformers in publishing *Address to the People of Massachusetts*, a tract calling for laws to prohibit the transport and sale of alcoholic beverages. Samuel Bayard and his coauthors Mark Hopkins and Samuel Hoar compared the liquor trade to the trade of enslaved people:

Thus tested, it is easily shown that there is not a business on earth, not even the slave-trade, that is more wicked and detestable. It cannot be pretended that the consequences of the slave-trade are worse than those of the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and the motive is precisely the same. In neither case is it a direct desire to produce the miseries that follow, but it is a selfish and reckless determination, like that of the thief or the highway robber, to get money without regard to the consequences of others.^[796]

All people effected by the trade must be considered, they argued, not just those who would be immediately impacted by new laws:

In such cases it is not alone the rights and the interests of those who give their consent that are involved; it is the rights and interests of husbands and wives, of parents and children, sometimes, as in this case, of the whole community; and these rights and interests are among the most precious that belong to humanity.^[797]

The authors also acknowledged the role of women in the temperance movement:

Of the sympathies and efforts of woman in this cause the importance cannot be over-estimated, and we rejoice to know that they are so generally with us.

Women of Massachusetts, wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, coming generations will thank you for this. Let it be yours to see that their cause of gratitude is made still greater.^[798]

Samuel Bayard was probably the “Dr. Woodward” who assisted with an early use of anesthetic gas during a dental operation in Northampton on 24 December 1846. On that day a man from nearby Conway was made unconscious with the use of “anodyne vapor”:

His pulse ran up to over 100 and he said he felt strangely. But on assurance from Dr. Woodward that the vapor would not hurt him, he placed the instrument to his mouth, and in a very short time his eyes were closed, and the muscles of his hands and arms relaxed as in a profound sleep. Dr. Smith then took his forceps and extracted three of the double teeth, using his utmost strength to some of them, for they were confined to their sockets with unusual firmness. The patient then waked up. Dr. Woodward asked him how he felt. “First rate,” said he.— “Did you dream?” inquired Dr. W. “Yes,” continued he, “I had a first rate dream;” but he could not tell what it was. He repeatedly declared that he felt no sensation of pain.

⁷⁹⁶ Woodward, Hopkins, Hoar, *Temperance*, 10–11.

⁷⁹⁷ Woodward, Hopkins, Hoar, *Temperance*, 13.

⁷⁹⁸ Woodward, Hopkins, Hoar, *Temperance*, 18, 19.

The gas was administered four more times and fifteen teeth were taken out. Dr. Smith, the dentist, struggled mightily with one tooth “before he could remove it, and then a considerable piece of the jaw was drawn out with it.”^[799]

Massachusetts Governor Georges N. Briggs in his annual message to the state legislature on 12 January 1847 thanked Samuel Bayard for his service at the Worcester hospital:

The institution, as conducted by Dr. Woodward, under the general charge of its Trustees, has done great credit to its Superintendent, to the Commonwealth, as its patron, and rendered a most important service to the cause of humanity. Though in thirteen years of hard labor in that noble Hospital he may have impaired a fine constitution, by that labor he has erected for himself a monument more durable than marble. Hundreds of men and women “in whose disordered brain reason has lost her way,” who have been restored to health and sanity through his instrumentality, will, with their friends, remember him with gratitude. The friends of suffering humanity every where will honor his memory.^[800]

The next month it was reported that the trustees of the Worcester hospital voted to give “a gratuity” of \$500 to the retiring Samuel Bayard.^[801]

In Northampton Samuel Bayard saw a few patients in a private practice.^[802] He also worked as a consulting physician for the Round Hill Water Cure Retreat in Northampton. The retreat offered “cold and limpid” spring-fed baths in the basement of a complex that included more than 100 guest rooms. Several local physicians and “experienced German Bath Nurses” were at the service of spa guests. In addition, the proprietors

employed as medical counsellor and adviser, Samuel B. Woodward, M. D., late of the Mass. Hospital at Worcester, a man whose long and intimate acquaintance with Invalids of every class renders him peculiarly fitted for the place. He will visit the Retreat daily.^[803]

In the autumn of 1847, Samuel Bayard wrote a letter stating his opinion that psychiatric illness prompted the actions of accused horse thief Rufus Rood.^[804]

A colleague of Samuel Bayard’s wrote to another colleague on 6 June 1848 and commented on the superintendent’s activities during retirement:

⁷⁹⁹ “Extraordinary Operation in Dentistry,” Boston *Emancipator and Republican*, 6 January 1847, 146.

⁸⁰⁰ “Massachusetts Legislature,” Barre [Massachusetts] *Patriot*, 15 January 1847, 2.

⁸⁰¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Alfred Dwight Foster, “Treasurer’s Report,” fourteenth report, 1846 (published 1846), 15. See also “The Boston Times,” Pittsfield, Massachusetts, *Sun*, 4 February 1847, 2.

⁸⁰² Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 111.

⁸⁰³ *Broadsides, American Antiquarian Society*, “Round Hill Water Cure Retreat, Northampton, Mass.,” 1847 or 1848, BDSDS 1847, item 6981.

⁸⁰⁴ “It is Known to the Community,” Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 14 October 1847, 3.

He appears to live a life of industry in order to be useful & having exhibited the evidence of righteousness by faith in a gloriously exalted Redeemer, his evening will doubtless descend without intervention of a cloud. Honorable & useful, it will be hard to find a more delightful man than our mutual friend Samuel B. Woodward.^[805]

Samuel Bayard was “eminently well informed on Horticultural matters, which had formed a favorite study of his leisure hours” and in 1848 he made a “very admirable and instructive report” to the Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden Agricultural Society.^[806]

In about 1848 Samuel Bayard sat for a daguerreotype portrait, and also commissioned a daguerreotype image of the Frothingham portrait.^[807]

On 27 April 1849 Samuel Bayard was mentioned in a letter from his daughter Urania to his son Charles. In it Urania described Samuel Bayard’s gift of a wheelbarrow to his five-year-old grandson, Charles Jr.:

Father has given him a wheelbarrow and he follows me about with it carrying off the rubbish from the garden and the plants as I wish to move them about.

Someone asked him the other day whose boy he was—he said he was his father’s son—his mother’s nephew and some relation to grandpa but he did not know what.^[808]

Late in the summer of 1849, Samuel Bayard suffered another attack of the bilious colic that had plagued him for many years. The episode would eventually prove fatal:

During the past summer he was violently seized with illness after exerting himself at hay-making, a part of a day, from which sickness he never fully recovered. About the first of November he was again attacked with a most violent pain in the Inguinal region as before, which lasted for ten or twelve hours and which was followed by great prostration of the system. After a day or two however, he began to be convalescent, and was able during the pleasant weather of that month to ride out two or three times, giving him and his friends good reason to hope for a speedy return of health. But afterwards, about the first of December, he had a relapse, even more severe than that of the preceding month. From this time he failed gradually in strength—his old symptoms assumed different characters, and new ones manifested themselves.

His heart which in health was regular in its action, was now hurried and at times irregular, which he stated was always the case from his childhood when he was ill, and as no lesion was discovered upon the most careful stethoscopic examination that difficulty was regarded as functional. Being unable to take but little food, he failed quite

⁸⁰⁵ Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 45, citing “William M. Awt to Thomas S. Kirkbride, June 6, 1848, in ‘Correspondence of the A.P.A. Founders,’ ed. Robert E. Jones, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CXIX (June, 1963), 1133.”

⁸⁰⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁸⁰⁷ Both daguerreotypes are in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, and both are reproduced in Sarah Kate Gillespie, *The Early American Daguerreotype: Cross-Currents in Art and Technology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2016), 82, 83.

⁸⁰⁸ Urania Woodward Letter 1849, [2]–[3].

rapidly, and passed last Wednesday night in the most excruciating neuralgic pains of the whole body. Thursday morning he was exceedingly prostrated and became more and more feeble as the day advanced, until about six o'clock on Thursday evening immediately after taking some wine and water, he was seized with a violent spasm and died instantly, without a struggle.^[809]

Samuel Bayard died in his home after an illness of ten weeks on 3 January 1850. He was attended in his last days by Dr. C. A. Hall of Northampton and was visited often by his brother, Dr. Charles Woodward of Middletown, Connecticut. Samuel Bayard's obituary in the *Hampshire Gazette* included a detailed account of a postmortem investigation by Dr. Joseph Sargent of Worcester, Dr. C. A. Hall, and Samuel Bayard's medical partner, Dr. Samuel A. Fisk:

Upon laying open the Thorax great was the surprise at finding the right Pleural cavity filled with coagulated blood. Into that side of the chest all the blood of his body had been emptied. The heart was found to be in a perfectly healthy condition—the integrity of the Lungs not at all impaired, but in as sound and perfect a state as ever. The spleen was somewhat enlarged but otherwise healthy. The Pancreas natural, and the Liver in a normal condition. In the gall bladder were found six calculous concretions varying in size, from that of a pullets egg to that of a small pea.

After a lengthy and close search for the rupture which produced the fatal hemorrhage, there was discovered the remains of a very small aneurismal sack upon the aorta, immediately where it passes through the Diaphragm, and a rupture of this sack was the immediate cause of his death.^[810]

On 8 January an afternoon funeral was held.^[811] Interment was in the Bridge Street Cemetery in Northampton.^[812] Samuel Bayard's name was also added to an obelisk on his father's grave in the Tarringford Cemetery in Tarringford, Connecticut:

Samuel B. Woodward M.D. Died at Northampton Jan. 3. 1850. ae 63.^[813]

⁸⁰⁹ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁸¹⁰ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary. See also Northampton Vital Record Notes, Samuel B. Woodward death record, 3 January 1850. See also Samuel B. Woodward death record, January 1850, 1850 United States census, mortality schedules, Northampton, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, page 517, line 31, Nonpopulation Census Schedules, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Nonpopulation Census Schedules for Massachusetts, 1840–1880*, T1204, 40 reels, reel 9; via “U.S. Federal Census Mortality Schedules, 1850–1885,” Ancestry.com. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 111.

⁸¹¹ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁸¹² Find A Grave, Samuel Bayard Woodward gravestone photographs, P. K. Magruder, Bridge Street Cemetery, Northampton, Massachusetts, 28 February 2017, Find A Grave Memorial 82444253, P. K. Magruder, 27 December 2011.

⁸¹³ Connecticut Photographs 2014, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 8 June 2014. See also Find A Grave, Samuel Woodward gravestone photographs, P. Welch, Tarringford Cemetery, Tarringford, Connecticut, 1 December 2013, Find A Grave Memorial 98295278, Allison Ferris Pierce, 4 October 2012.

The *Hampshire Gazette* obituary hailed Samuel Bayard's character:

Dr. Woodward was a very domestic man, and it is perhaps his highest praise to say, that the virtues of his character never appeared to better advantage than in the circle of his own family. Those who had the happiness of being acquainted with Dr. W. need not be reminded of his cordial smile, and friendly recognition; and to his patients, there was something healing in his bland approach, and sympathetic and patient manner.^[814]

On the day before Samuel Bayard's funeral, a former trustee of the Worcester hospital, Stephen Salisbury, wrote a tribute to him into the hospital's record of visitors:

For the important office of a superintendent of a hospital for the insane, Dr. Woodward had extraordinary qualifications in his person, his disposition of mind. His person was a rare model of strength and manly beauty. On his brow sat courtesy and command in entire harmony, and it is no exaggeration to say, that his form and carriage were majestic. His stature was 6 feet 2 ½ inches, and, without the deformity of obesity, his weight was 260 pounds. His temper was benevolent, liberal, sanguine, decided, and persevering. He understood readily the characters of men, had great power over their feelings, and easily gained their confidence and love. He was prompt and systematic in business, and unsparing in labor. His mind was of a practical character. His powers of observation were vigilant and discriminating; and expression and life rather than books were the chosen subjects of his studies. Hence his thoughts had a freshness and confidence of truth, which carried them to the hearts of men.

He retired with a physical system wasted and disordered by the labors and anxieties, inseparable from his position here, to a beautiful estate at Northampton, where, for a time, he seemed to find the benefit which he sought. He had the care of several unfortunate victims of mental disease, and still continued his studies in the science in which he was so eminent, and was sought, for his wise counsels, in ordinary medical practice, as he had been in all his industrious life. Highly blessed in his domestic relations and in the large circle of his friendship, prosperous in the great objects of his life, and beloved and honored in the world, he was called away, when the cup of his earthly happiness was full.^[815]

Another obituary lauded Samuel Bayard's work to liberate "wild, naked maniacs" from the cells of county jails:

Two thousand patients came under Dr. Woodward's care during his residence at Worcester, and what is a very striking fact, he could give from memory the history of every case.

Dr. Woodward was indebted not a little for his success in the treatment of the insane, to his admirable *physique*. The poor sufferer acknowledged his natural right to

⁸¹⁴ Samuel Bayard Woodward Obituary.

⁸¹⁵ Worcester State Hospital Reports, Stephen Salisbury, "Extract from the Record of the Monthly Visitation," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 10–11. Salisbury's tribute was reprinted in P. E., "Reports of Institutions for the Insane in the United States," *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, new series, volume 24 (October 1852): 469–470.

command, and could not resist the fascination of his eye, and, without any fear of the consequences, he directed many a fierce maniac to be unbound, and addressed with kindness.^[816]

On 5 March 1850 Samuel Bayard's will was presented in the Hampshire County Probate Court.^[817] On 7 May 1850 an inventory of the estate was presented to the court.^[818]

The next annual report of the Worcester State Hospital included tributes to Samuel Bayard, one by the trustees of the hospital:

This Hospital may henceforth be regarded, and, by the grateful hearts of a long succession of trustees, officers and patients, it will be always recognized, as the Woodward Monument. The evidence of what he was and what he did for the institution is indelibly inscribed upon all its buildings and all its grounds. The influence of his presence is still felt in every ward, in every workshop, in the office, the chapel, the kitchen, the laundry, the garden, and the fields.^[819]

A year after Samuel Bayard's death, the superintendent of a British hospital told an American visitor that Samuel Bayard's reports on the Worcester hospital were read with interest in England:

Dr. Bigley, the superintendant was very polite and obliging. He spoke very feelingly of the late Dr. Woodward, and said he had read his reports.^[820]

In a tribute published in 1852, Isaac Ray, superintendent of a Rhode Island hospital, recalled Samuel Bayard:

A sanguine disposition which no obstacles could dishearten; a cheerful, buoyant temper, that gilded every circumstance with bright and pleasing hues, and a cast of intellect that enabled him to make the most of the materials at his command, admirably fitted him for an office peculiarly fruitful in discouragements, and accompanied by a certain wear and tear of spirit less incident to other spheres of professional exertion.^[821]

Maria (Porter) Woodward died twenty-three years after her husband, on 11 October 1873 in Worcester.^[822] A stone on the couple's graves in the Bridge Street Cemetery in Northampton carries the following inscription:

⁸¹⁶ "The Character of the Late Dr. Woodward," Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 24 January 1850, 1.

⁸¹⁷ *Hampshire County Probate*, 47:456–459.

⁸¹⁸ *Hampshire County Probate*, 47:545–548, 552–553, 566; 48:116.

⁸¹⁹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, "Eighteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 9.

⁸²⁰ "Hon. Mr. Plunkett's Letters from Europe," Pittsfield, Massachusetts, *Sun*, 9 January 1851, 3.

⁸²¹ P. E., "Reports of Institutions for the Insane in the United States," *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, new series, volume 24 (October 1852): 470–471.

⁸²² *Northampton Vital Record Notes*, Maria P. Woodward death record, 11 October 1873. See also *Woodward and Woodward*, "Descendants," 121.

Samuel Bayard Woodward M.D. Born June 11, 1787. Died Jan. 3, 1850. Maria Porter Woodward. Born July 2, 1797. Died Oct. 10 1873.

The couple's five unmarried children, Urania, Stanley, Edwin, Catherine, and Algernon, are buried in the same plot.^[823]

At Maria's death, Samuel Bayard's estate was divided among his children. The estate, which was in the care of his son Samuel from 1850 to 1873, consisted of bank and railroad stocks and municipal bonds that were valued at \$34,624.50 at the time of division.^[824]

In the 1870s and 1880s studies by two hospital superintendents questioned the validity of statistics on patient recovery that had been published by Samuel Bayard in his annual reports. Pliny Earle of the Bloomingdale Asylum in New York noted that few hospitals were in operation at the time that Samuel Bayard worked and that it was thus difficult to assess the statistics provided in the Worcester hospital reports. Samuel Bayard used that lack of comparative information to do everything he could to demonstrate that psychiatric illness could be cured and that new hospitals should be built:

Thus circumstanced, there was a golden opportunity for the doctor to disseminate among the people some knowledge of insanity and its treatment in hospitals, and thus give an impetus to the hitherto languid and lagging enterprise for the amelioration of the condition of the insane upon this side of the Atlantic. This opportunity he did not fail to seize.

John G. Park, a successor to Samuel Bayard at the Worcester hospital, noted that his predecessor had counted as cured all patients who had left the hospital without symptoms even if they later returned. Upon return, they were counted as new admissions rather than as relapsed former patients. "There can be no doubt that the public have been hitherto widely misled as to the meaning of the word 'recovery,' as used in the hospital reports," Park wrote. A modern assessment found that while Samuel Bayard's claims of eighty and ninety percent cure rates were unfounded, he clearly stated his methods. That transparency of method allows his statistics to be recategorized in accordance with later standards, and when that is done they show a success rate of fifty percent that is in line with later recovery rates.^[825]

Samuel Bayard seemingly anticipated the criticism when he addressed the point many years earlier in his eighth annual report of 1840. His policy of labeling patients who were discharged with no symptoms and subsequently returned as new cases rather

⁸²³ Find A Grave, Samuel Bayard Woodward gravestone photographs, P. K. Magruder, Bridge Street Cemetery, Northampton, Massachusetts, 28 February 2017, Find A Grave Memorial 82444253, P. K. Magruder, 27 December 2011.

⁸²⁴ Samuel Woodward to Charles Woodward, 21 October 1873, [1]–[3], original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward to Charles Woodward, 30 October 1873, [1]–[2], original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward, "Appraisal of Estate of S. B. Woodward," circa October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward, "Amount of Property as Affirmed Belonging to the Estate of Sam B Woodward," circa October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁸²⁵ Grob, "Practice of Psychiatry," 435–438. See also Grob, *Worcester State Hospital*, 74–77.

than relapses, he said, was in line with the practice of medical doctors who would not consider a person who suffered from a disease a second time after a period of health as a relapse:

No physician considers a second attack of pleurisy, rheumatism, or colic, a relapse, if months, and particularly if *one* or more years have elapsed between the two attacks; although the predisposition or susceptibility is much increased by this first attack, and a second will occur from a much slighter cause. In case the individual is exposed a second time to the cause of insanity, which produced the disease in the first instance, such as intemperance, disappointment in business, domestic affliction, or ill health, there would be the strongest reason to believe, that the disease was wholly of new origin, independent entirely of the previous attack.^[826]

Even as Pliny Earle questioned the statistics of Samuel Bayard, he credited the doctor's annual reports with spurring national advances in the treatment of psychiatric illness. Other superintendents gave periodic accounts of their activities, Earle said, but Samuel Bayard

gave to the profession and to the world, by his detailed reports, vastly more than they of the results of his observation and practical experience. This information was widely disseminated, and gave to the popular movement in favor of the insane an impulse such as it had never before received, and the importance of the consequences of which, extending as they do to the present day, and as they will through all the future history of our nation, cannot be estimated.

Samuel Bayard and Dorothea Dix share credit for improving the care of people with psychiatric illness, Earle said:

To those two persons, Dr. Woodward and Miss Dix, more than to any other two, are the insane of our country indebted for the awakened interest of the people in their behalf, and consequently for that rapidity of practical action, manifested in the erection of asylums and hospitals for their benefit, which has in no other country been exceeded, even if it have been equalled.^[827]

More than a century after Samuel Bayard's death, a library at the Worcester hospital was dedicated to his memory. A plaque in the library stated the following:

This library is dedicated to Samuel B. Woodward, M.D., First Superintendent, 1833–1846, in recognition of his optimism, pragmatic eclecticism, and biological-psychological approach to the treatment of the mentally ill, in acknowledgement, above all, of

⁸²⁶ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, Samuel Bayard Woodward, "Eighth Report," eighth report, 1840 (published 1841), 46–47.

⁸²⁷ Pliny Earle, "A Glance at Insanity, and the Management of the Insane in the American States," in F. B. Sanborn, editor, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Charities, Held at Chicago, June, 1879* (Boston: A. Williams & Company, 1879), 43–44.

his strong dedication to moral treatment, marked by his kind, humane, and respectful attitude toward the patients of this hospital. —February 12, 1987^[828]

Children of Samuel Bayard and Maria (Porter) Woodward:^[829]

- 9 i. CHARLES⁷ WOODWARD, born 17 April 1816; married ELIZABETH ALLEN LYNDE.^[830]
- ii. URANIA BATTELL WOODWARD, born 16 June 1817; died 7 October 1857.
- iii. RUFUS WOODWARD, born 3 October 1819; married NANCY JANE “JENNIE” FOX. Rufus’ mother wrote in a January 1873 letter: “Rufus & Jennie were both here yesterday. Rufus is more like his father every day, & is highly respected as a *Physician*.”^[831]
- iv. STANLEY GRISWOLD WOODWARD, born 5 June 1821; died 30 June 1897. “Became insane.”^[832] “In 1860 he was in business in New York, but his mind soon become overclouded, and he was never himself again.”^[833] Stanley’s mother wrote in January 1873: “Stanley has shut himself up again this winter. He has not been here since Thanksgiving but he is well as usual. I send over to inquire for him every few weeks.”^[834]
- v. HENRY WOODWARD, born 2 September 1822; married (1) MARY M. HUNT, (2) MRS. AMELIA WELLS. Henry was left with five children, including an infant daughter, when his first wife died in 1872, as noted by his mother in January 1873: “We met Harry this morning. He is pretty well again, but his health is delicate at best & the care of his little family wears upon him. His baby is the dearest little *pet* that you ever saw, she brightens many a sad hour for them all.”^[835] “Throughout his life, he devoted much time to painting in water colors.”^[836]
- vi. SAMUEL WOODWARD, born 11 January 1825; married LUCY ELIZABETH ROGERS TREADWELL. In January 1873 his mother compared him to his brother Rufus: “Sam does not quite come up to him in *size* but in *respectability* fully equal.”^[837]
- vii. MARIA PORTER WOODWARD,^[838] born 3 August 1826; married REV. WILLIAM SILSBEE. Maria’s mother wrote in January 1873: “Maria has been very well this winter, her long visit last fall among her friends was a fine rest for her.”^[839]
- viii. EDWIN WOODWARD, born 9 June 1828; died 17 August 1829.
- ix. CATHERINE TODD WOODWARD, born 30 March 1831; died 1 January 1849. Catherine’s sister Urania wrote to their brother Charles four months after Catherine’s death at age seventeen, comparing Catherine to Charles’ daughter Mary Gillette Woodward, who was then age ten: “never did any season open to us as sadly as this, for one most precious one is so missed everywhere and our whole lives must be so changed

⁸²⁸ Notes on a visit to the Worcester State Hospital, Hobson Woodward and Vernon Powell Woodward, circa 1988, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁸²⁹ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 120–121, 181–190. Bouley, *Pioneer Settlers*, 587, without naming them claims that Samuel Bayard and Maria had twelve children rather than the eleven listed here.

⁸³⁰ Woodward Family Charts provides Elizabeth’s middle name.

⁸³¹ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [3].

⁸³² Woodward Family Charts.

⁸³³ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 188.

⁸³⁴ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [4].

⁸³⁵ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [3].

⁸³⁶ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 188.

⁸³⁷ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [3].

⁸³⁸ Northampton Vital Record Notes, Maria P. Woodward birth record (date of birth not recorded).

⁸³⁹ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [4].

without her. How we all wish you could have known her more—for she was so much to us. What a blessing and a comfort will Mary be to us if she but grows up like her.”^[840] Charles had left for Illinois in 1836 when Catherine was age five and did not reside with his sister as she grew up.

- x. EDWIN PORTER “NED” WOODWARD, born 16 July 1832; married HELEN M. MUSGRAVE. Edwin’s mother wrote in January 1873: “Ned & his family are well. I heard from him a few days since.”^[841]
- xi. ALGERNON SIDNEY WOODWARD, born 6 June 1835; died 1 February 1836.

Charles Woodward

1816–1883

Wethersfield, Connecticut

Worcester, Massachusetts

St. Louis, Missouri

Alton, Illinois

Griggsville, Illinois

West Brookfield, Massachusetts

Danville, Indiana

Indianapolis, Indiana

Madison, Indiana

Cincinnati, Ohio

Cairo, Illinois

Memphis, Tennessee

Avondale, Ohio

9. CHARLES⁷ WOODWARD^[842] (*Samuel Bayard^f, Samuel^f, Israel^f, John Jr.³, John Sr.², Henry¹, John^A, Robert^B*) was born on 17 April 1816 in Wethersfield, Connecticut. He died on 25 June 1883 in Avondale, Ohio.^[843] Charles married ELIZABETH ALLEN LYNDE on 22 March 1838 in Brookfield, Massachusetts.^[844] Elizabeth Allen was born

⁸⁴⁰ *Urania Woodward Letter 1849*, [1], [2].

⁸⁴¹ *Maria Woodward Letter 1873*, [4].

⁸⁴² Two sources apparently err in giving Charles the middle initial “S.” *Williams’ Cincinnati Directory*, 1864 edition, 383, associates Charles S. Woodward with the Adams Express Company, showing that the compiler was referring to the subject of this sketch. In later issues of the same directory, however, Charles lacks a middle initial and is listed alongside his son, Charles Stanley Woodward, suggesting a likely confusion between father and son in the 1864 edition. A year later in *Williams’ Cincinnati Directory*, 1865 edition, 398, the son “C. S. Woodward” is listed alongside his father who is called “Charles Woodward sr.” In numerous future listings the elder Charles was never again given a middle initial and his son was always given an “S.” The subject of this sketch is also given the middle initial “S” in *Cutter, New England Families*, 2:1056. The source of the information in that work appears to be a Worcester, Massachusetts, descendant who was relayed information from a Cincinnati descendant. Several minor errors suggest the Worcester author was generally unfamiliar with the Cincinnati line.

⁸⁴³ *Spring Grove Cemetery Records*, Charles Woodward burial record, card 38701. *Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,”* 181, 186.

⁸⁴⁴ *Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts, To the End of the Year 1849* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Franklin P. Rice, 1909), 362.

on 9 January 1817, the daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah (Hitchcock) Lynde of West Brookfield, Massachusetts.^[845]

Charles was seven months old when he was mentioned in a 25 November 1816 letter from his uncle Rufus to his father Samuel Bayard:

Remember me to your dear Lady and child. Permit me to express the hope that baby Charles will have assiduous care taken in his education.^[846]

Charles spent his childhood in Wethersfield. He was four on 7 August 1820 when his family was recorded together in the United States census.^[847] Charles was thirteen on 17 August 1829 when his toddler brother Edwin died.^[848] His family was counted in the United States census of Wethersfield one year later on 1 June 1830, and two months after that the home of the fourteen-year-old was destroyed by fire.^[849]

Charles was away from home for some period at age sixteen. On 4 November 1832 his younger brother Rufus mentioned him in a letter to their father:

I received a letter from Charles this morning he says he is very well^[850]

When Charles' father Samuel Bayard was appointed the founding superintendent of the Massachusetts state hospital in December 1832, sixteen-year-old Charles presumably moved with his parents and siblings to the family's apartment in the hospital.^[851] Charles "attended school in Worcester."^[852]

Four years later in 1836 when Charles was twenty he left Massachusetts for the west. A biographical account published in 1881 reports that Charles

was born in that town of fragrant memories, Wethersfield, Ct., in 1816, and enjoyed a good Yankee training in that State (so many samples of whose energetic population are to be found in every section of our broad land), until twenty years of age, when he "put out" for the far west, resolved to "hoe his own row." After a short tarry in St. Louis—then a bustling town, ambitious to be regarded as the "Queen of the West," in

⁸⁴⁵ Elizabeth Allen Lynde birth record, 9 January 1817, Brookfield, Massachusetts, "Brookfield Births and Deaths 1700–1818," 1:196; via Jay Mack Holbrook, Holbrook Research Institute, microfilm publication, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Brookfield 1700–1895*; via "Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620–1988," Ancestry.com. See also Edward Elbridge Salisbury and Evelyn McCurdy Salisbury, *Family Histories and Genealogies Containing a Series of Genealogical and Biographical Monographs*, 3 volumes (New Haven, Connecticut: Press of Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1892), 1:405–406.

⁸⁴⁶ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 123–126, specifically 125–126.

⁸⁴⁷ *United States 1820 Census*, Samuel Bayard Woodward family, Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, page 308 (stamped; also stamped 812), line [23], reel 2.

⁸⁴⁸ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 121.

⁸⁴⁹ *United States 1830 Census*, Samuel Bayard Woodward family, Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, page 67 (handwritten 132–133), line [18], reel 7. See also "Fire in Wethersfield," *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, 2 August 1831, 3.

⁸⁵⁰ Rufus Woodward to Samuel Bayard Woodward, 4 November 1832, [1], Woodward Family Papers, MS62-4711, box 1, folder 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁸⁵¹ *Worcester State Hospital Reports*, George Chandler, "Superintendent's Report," eighteenth report, 1850 (published 1851), 18. See also Perlman, "Samuel Bayard Woodward," 72.

⁸⁵² Cutter, *New England Families*, 2:1056.

lively competition with Cincinnati—W. repaired to the more Yankee town of Alton, in Illinois^[853]

Charles' travel coincided with that of his future business partner and future brother-in-law, Henry Lynde of West Brookfield, Massachusetts. Lynde arrived in Alton, Illinois, on 1 December 1836 and moved to Griggsville, Pike County, Illinois, the following spring.^[854] A nephew of Charles' later said that his uncle travelled to the same places:

In 1836 he went west and was for a year in business in Alton, Ill. In 1837 he moved to Griggsville, Ill. and went into partnership with Henry Lynde. This business was a failure^[855]

The business the pair began was a store that operated under the name Lynde & Woodward. An early settler of Griggsville, E. N. Phillips, mentioned the store in a 1901 interview:

There was a large emigration in 1831 from the east

The city of Griggsville was laid out in 1834. Lots were sold at auction

Lynde & Woodward started a store in the dwelling now occupied by Mrs. Battles.

The years 1836, 1837, 1838 were known as the great boom years, and everybody was rich.

From 1840 to 1844 were the years of the panic.

Also in 1837, Charles taught school in Griggsville. Phillips recalled that Charles was the teacher at the town's academy for boys:

In laying out the town, lots were reserved for the Baptist and Congregational Societies, also for a male and female academy. These lots are at the present time being used for the purposes for which they were originally intended.

The female academy was built by subscription in 1836

⁸⁵³ *Stimson, Express Business*, 191. Stimson notes Charles' move to Griggsville, but misspells the name of the town as "Guggsville." He also profiles an illiterate Boston Adams Express driver identified only as "Woodward," page 327. That driver was not Charles, however, as shown in *Harlow, Old Way-bills*, 28.

⁸⁵⁴ Charles C. Chapman & Company, *History of Pike County, Illinois* (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Company, 1880), 552.

⁸⁵⁵ *Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"* 181. Samuel B. Woodward, the author of this work, was the son of Charles' brother Samuel. See page 189 of the same work.

The male academy was built in 1837; the first teacher he can remember in this school was Charles Woodard.^[856]

Charles returned east by 1838, though he seems to have maintained his home in Griggsville. The vital records of Brookfield list the marriage of “Elizabeth A. [Lynde] and Charles Woodward of Griggsville, Ill., March 22, 1838.”^[857] Charles and Elizabeth Allen were in Illinois a year later when their first child, Mary Gillette Woodward, was born on 18 March 1839.^[858] A year after Mary’s birth, on 1 June 1840, the United States census listed the family in Pike County, Illinois. In the Charles Woodward household were a male age twenty to twenty-nine (Charles), a female age twenty to twenty-nine (Elizabeth Allen) and a female under five (one-year-old Mary Gillette).^[859]

The above records make it clear that Charles and Elizabeth Allen went west soon after their marriage. Perhaps between 1838 and 1843, however, they spent time both in Illinois and Massachusetts. Charles’ nephew stated that his uncle returned east when his Griggsville business failed and was in West Brookfield from then until he departed permanently for the west in 1843:

he returned to the east, and for five years was in business in West Brookfield, Mass.—Mar. 22, 1838 he married Eliza Lynde, sister of his Griggsville partner. In 1843 he went west once more^[860]

While Charles’ business partner Henry Lynde remained in Griggsville,^[861] Charles and Elizabeth went on to Indiana. They were in Indiana by 6 May 1843 when their son Charles Jr. was born there. The next three Woodward children were also born in

⁸⁵⁶ “Early Settlement of Griggsville,” publication date not provided, in Christine Walters, editor, “Illinois Genealogy Trails: Pike County,” GenealogyTrails.com, citing “Contributed to Genealogy Trails by Gene Clark. The following article was taken from The Independent Press, Devoted to the Interest of Griggsville and Pike County, Vol. XXII, Griggsville, Illinois, Wednesday, February 20, 1901, No. 16. E. N. Phillips, who gave the interview, was a great grandson of Edward Boone, younger brother of Daniel Boone. The article appeared in a section of Griggsville History, subtitled ‘King’ Phillips Talks for Readers of the Press—Has a Vivid Memory for Dates and Early Incidents in the Old Town &c.”

⁸⁵⁷ *Vital Records of Brookfield, Massachusetts, To the End of the Year 1849* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Franklin P. Rice, 1909), 362.

⁸⁵⁸ The 1850 United States census states that Mary Gillette was born in Illinois. See United States 1850 Census, Charles Woodward family, Marion County, Indiana, page 230 (stamped; written number 459), lines 14–21, dwelling 484, family 496, reel 159. Mary Gillette’s birth date is given in Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 186.

⁸⁵⁹ Charles Woodward family, Pike County, Illinois, page [67], line [14], Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, M740, 580 reels, reel 112; via “1840 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

⁸⁶⁰ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 181–182.

⁸⁶¹ Henry Lynde to Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 9 January 1889, [1]–[4], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

Indiana, in 1845, 1847, and 1850. One also died there. A child named after Charles' father, Samuel Bayard Woodward, died at age two on 15 August 1843.^[862]

The Woodwards lived in Danville, Hendricks County, Indiana, on 30 October 1844 when Charles' father Samuel Bayard Woodward wrote to him from Worcester. The letter was in answer to a request from Charles for money, apparently to fund a new partnership with a member of the Lynde family, likely Henry Lynde with whom he had opened his store in Griggsville seven years earlier. Samuel Bayard asked Charles to tell him the exact amount of money needed and to give him particulars about the arrangement with the Lyndes:

I should be extremely glad to do it if I am able without injuring my other children and cramping myself. Say to me as much as possible what is the smallest sum which will answer you and tell me what you have now neglected how you stand with the Lyndes as I must know the whole.

love to Elizabeth and the children from us all.^[863]

Charles and his family moved from Danville to Indianapolis by 1846. In that city Charles "remained in mercantile business on his own account" and spent "two years in the newspaper line."^[864] In a 30 November 1846 advertisement in an Indianapolis newspaper, Charles was one of several people cited as satisfied users of the Buck's Patent Cooking Stove:

We have on hand and offer for sale the above justly celebrated Cooking Stoves. The many persons using this Stove, in this and other cities, declare themselves delighted with its operations, and bear testimony of its superiority over any other Cooking Stove ever offered to the public.

The C. & J. Cox store suggested to readers that "For the operation of the Stove we respectfully refer to the following persons who have it in use." A list of a dozen names that followed included "Chas. Woodward."^[865]

Upon the death of Samuel Bayard Woodward on 3 January 1850, Charles presumably received the legacy his father specified for him in his will:

I give to my son Charles Woodward my Scotts' Family Bible, my Silver watch with chain and Key as I have been accustomed to wear it and the cane walking stick that was my fathers.^[866]

⁸⁶² United States 1850 Census, Charles Woodward family, Marion County, Indiana, page 230 (stamped; written number 459), lines 14–21, dwelling 484, family 496, reel 159. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 186.

⁸⁶³ Samuel Bayard Woodward to Charles Woodward, 30 October 1844, [1], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁸⁶⁴ Stimson, *Express Business*, 192.

⁸⁶⁵ "Buck's Patent Cooking Stoves," Indianapolis *Indiana State Journal*, 30 November 1846, 1.

⁸⁶⁶ Samuel Bayard Woodward Will.

The book was probably the following (or another edition of the same work): Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments*, fifth American edition, six volumes (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1816).

On 1 June 1850 Charles and his family were listed in the United States census of Indianapolis. Included were: Chas. Woodward, thirty-four, occupation "Commission Board," born Conn.; Elizabeth Woodward, thirty-three, born Mass.; Mary G. Woodward, eleven, born Ill.; Chas. Woodward Jr., seven, born Ind.; Henry L. Woodward, five, born Ind.; "Ureania" Woodward, three, born Ind.; "I" (presumably short for "infant") Woodward, 1/12, born Ind. (Katherine Todd Woodward, born twenty days before the census date, had apparently not yet been named). Also in the household was Elizabeth Stump, fifteen, born Germany, apparently a servant.^[867]

Charles' nephew reported that in 1850 his uncle began an association with the Adams Express Company that would last the rest of his life. The founder of the ten-year-old package transport company was from New England, and Worcester, Massachusetts, was a way station on its founding route between Boston and New York City.^[868] Perhaps Charles' connection to Worcester was a help in procuring a position with the rapidly expanding company while he lived in Indianapolis. In any case, his nephew reported that he began work at the company's office in that city soon after it opened:

In 1850, on the establishment of an office of the Adams Express Co. in that town, he became the local agent.^[869]

Charles' nephew was correct that his uncle's service with the Adams Express Company began in 1850, but Charles actually began his Adams Express career as agent in Madison, Indiana, ninety miles south of Indianapolis.^[870]

The Adams Express office in Indianapolis was established in September 1851. Three months after it commenced business, a city history reports, Charles became the agent there:

The first express office here was opened September 15, by the Adams Express Co., the line being over the Madison road, and Blythe & Holland, agents, till December, when Charles Woodward was appointed. He was succeeded a year or two after by John H. Ohr^[871]

Charles became the Indianapolis agent on 6 December 1851. Advertisements in an Indianapolis newspaper named Blythe & Holland as the Adams Express agents until

⁸⁶⁷ United States 1850 Census, Charles Woodward family, Marion County, Indiana, page 230 (stamped; written number 459), lines 14–21, dwelling 484, family 496, reel 159. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 186.

⁸⁶⁸ Roger Warner, "Forefathers of the Express," *Express Gazette* 46 (February 1921): 54.

⁸⁶⁹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 182.

⁸⁷⁰ H. L., "Early Recollections of an Old Expressman," *Expressman's Monthly* 1 (March 1876): 79.

⁸⁷¹ "Logan's History of Indianapolis from 1818," in M. V. B. Cowen, compiler, *Logansport City Directory, and Classified Business Directory of Indianapolis, Lafayette, and Surrounding Towns* (Indianapolis: Cowen & Protzman, 1869), 64. See also W. R. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Print, 1870), 96.

5 December and switched to Charles the next day. The text of the advertisement had not changed since it first appeared on 15 September:

Adams & Co's Express. Having completed our arrangements, we commence today running a daily line to the East, accompanied by special messengers, and with the speed of the mails, running our own cars with the passenger trains.

We are prepared to transport packages, bank notes and specie, to and from any of the Eastern cities; also, Louisville, Frankfort and Lexington, Ky., St. Louis, Mo., or any points on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. In addition to these we have the most complete arrangements for transporting packages to and from California and Europe.

Office in Indianapolis in Kinder's Building, South side Washington street, near the Court House. Office open during business hours. C. Woodward, Agent.^[872]

Many years later, Charles recalled the character of Indianapolis when he worked there:

At that time there was not a foot of railroad west of Indianapolis, which was then a small town of 4,000 inhabitants.^[873]

In Indianapolis Charles was a member of the City Common Council in 1851 and 1852.^[874] He was also a temperance advocate, serving as an editor of the Indianapolis *Temperance Chart*, a periodical published by the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of the State of Indiana.^[875] He is said to have worked as a newspaper editor for two years.^[876] Charles' nephew recalled his uncle's work in the temperance movement:

An earnest and prominent advocate and worker in the cause of temperance, he held many high positions in organizations formed for the promotion of that object.^[877]

Charles attended an Indiana state temperance convention in Indianapolis on 7 and 8 January 1852. One of the first actions of the convention was to appoint Charles secretary. He was also appointed to a committee to prepare the venue for the final day's

⁸⁷² "Adams & Co's Express," *Indianapolis Daily Indiana State Journal*, 6 December 1851, 3.

⁸⁷³ Charles Woodward, "Early Days," 4. For an analysis of the attribution of this work to Charles, see the entry for Charles Woodward, "Early Days" in *Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited*, above.

⁸⁷⁴ Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes*, 2 volumes (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 1:638.

⁸⁷⁵ Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes*, 2 volumes (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 1:452–453, provides the history of the periodical.

⁸⁷⁶ Stimson, *Express Business*, 192.

⁸⁷⁷ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 186.

session.^[878] While Charles disapproved of the use of alcohol, he apparently did not oppose the use of tobacco, as his nephew described him as a smoker.^[879]

Charles was also a Freemason, serving in a position of leadership in the Indianapolis temple. In April 1852 a Masonic official reported on a visit there:

At Indianapolis we had the pleasure of meeting with Bro. Charles Woodward, who holds the offices and attends to the duties of G. W. R. of the Grand Temple of Indiana, G. S. of the Grand Division of Indiana, and editor of the Chart, besides acting as agent for Adams & Co.'s Express, being a member of the City Council, &c. Bro. Woodward is emphatically a man of business, and notwithstanding his many duties, he found time to introduce us to the brethren and assist in obtaining subscribers.^[880]

On 26 May 1852, Charles was again elected to a senior post at the Indianapolis temple.^[881]

In the late summer or fall of 1852, Charles later recalled, a package brought to him was much delayed in its delivery:

In 1852, just after harvest, an Indianapolis miller brought a package of two hundred dollars to the writer of this, to send by "Adams & Co.'s Express," to a customer of his in Shelby, Ind.

The Madison and Indianapolis Railroad was then finished to Indianapolis, and a branch had been built from Edinburg, Ind., to Shelbyville, some fifteen miles distant. Both these roads were laid with old strap rail, which was a bar of iron spiked on a wooden sleeper, on which the cars run. The I. C. & L. R. R., which now runs direct from Indianapolis to Shelbyville, was not then in existence, and the route to Shelbyville was by the M. & I. R. R. to Edinburg, and thence by the branch to Shelbyville. The messengers of Adams & Co.'s Express ran through Edinburg daily on their route to Cincinnati, and a conductor on the branch acted as messenger for the Express Company on that route.

The money was counted, put in an envelope, closed with mucilage, as was the custom of those days, but not sealed with wax. It was billed to Edinburg only, as no agent at that time could bill any farther than the messenger to whom he gave the parcel could carry it, and placed in the hands of Messenger Daniel Foust (long since deceased) to carry to Edinburg. Foust delivered it without any receipt to John De Hart, then agent at Edinburg; and De Hart, after rebilling it to Shelbyville, delivered it to the conductor, acting as messenger, to take to Shelbyville. The messenger wrapped the way-bill around the package, and put it in his pocket—for he had no safe—and started on his journey.

About ten days after the package had been received for shipment, the same miller called on the writer to say that the consignee had not received the two hundred dollars.

⁸⁷⁸ "Proceedings of the State Temperance Convention in Indiana," Cincinnati, Ohio, *Organ of the Temperance Reform*, 30 January 1852, 3.

⁸⁷⁹ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 113.

⁸⁸⁰ "The Order in Indiana," *Templar's Magazine* 2 (April 1852): 257.

⁸⁸¹ "Grand Temple of Indiana," *Templar's Magazine* 2 (July 1852): 347.

Inquiry was made of Foust, who remembered giving the package to De Hart, and De Hart remembered handing it to the messenger, and his book showed the way-bill.

The messenger on the branch remembered receiving the package, but could remember nothing more about it, and was confident he had not delivered it, and that the package and way-bill had been stolen from his pocket. He was very much alarmed, and came at once to see me about it. I ascertained that the consignee was his friend, and advised him to go and see him, and compromise the matter with him. He did so, and the consignee agreed to receive a certain sum per month from him until the amount was paid, and release the express company.

He had made several payments, and the amount was nearly all paid, when he was fortunate enough to find the lost package.

The weather was very warm on the day he had received the package at Edinburg; but before he reached Shelbyville, it had changed to cold. He had placed the package in the pocket of a light coat he wore at Edinburg, and had forgotten it when he changed his coat for a heavy one; and the package and way-bill had actually remained in that coat-pocket, hanging in his room, all winter, until he had occasion to use the same coat again in the spring, when it was found safe and untouched. The poor fellow was killed a few weeks afterward by an accident to his train. I had almost forgotten the circumstance until reminded of it, a few days since, by the miller who shipped the package.^[882]

In 1853 Charles twice entered into contracts with Indiana Secretary of State Nehemiah Hayden to deliver official documents to county clerks (in addition to separate contracts made between the secretary of state and the Adams Express Company). Early in the year he received \$30 to deliver the revised statutes of 1852 to the clerks of the First Judicial Circuit. Later he was paid \$16 to carry “the Census Reports of 1840” and other documents to the same clerks.^[883]

Two decades after working for Adams Express in Indianapolis, Charles wrote an account of an unusual delivery he made on horseback into the Indiana countryside in about 1854:

About twenty years ago, the State of Indiana had on her statute-books what was known as the “Free Bank Law.” Its provisions were similar to the present National Bank law. Any person wishing to start a bank, had only to procure fifty thousand dollars in state bonds, and deposit them with the Auditor of State, at Indianapolis, and he would issue a like amount of registered bank-notes, which, when signed by the president and cashier of the bank, were a circulating medium, and were receivable for debts due the state, taxes, etc.

⁸⁸² “W.” [Charles Woodward], “Expressing in Early Days: Losing a Money Package,” *Our Expressman* 2 (September 1874): 18. For an analysis of the attribution of this work to Charles, see the entry for Charles Woodward, “Early Days” in *Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited*, above.

⁸⁸³ N. Hayden, *Annual Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Indiana, to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Austin H. Brown, 1853), 3–6.

The law required that the bank should be located in the State of Indiana, and that its notes should be paid in gold and silver, on presentation *at its counter* for redemption; and it was therefore quite an object to the banker to make that *counter* as hard to find as possible, as the notes were payable nowhere else.

Many of the banks did a legitimate business, and were located in the cities and large towns of the state; but many of them, which went by the name of "*kiting banks*," were located in the backwoods, out of the way of any danger of a run, and were generally owned by persons living in New York, or some other Eastern city.

One wealthy broker, it is said, owned twenty of them; and when he brought his bonds to Indianapolis, to deposit with the Auditor, he went also to a prominent real estate dealer, and got the names of twenty newly made *paper towns*, in various parts of the state, in which to locate his banks. One of these towns was Morocco, in the county of Newton, in the northwestern part of the state; and this bank is the *hero* of my story.

"*Adams & Co.'s Express*" did a very profitable business hunting up these banks for the brokers of Cincinnati, Louisville, Indianapolis, and Madison, and taking the notes of the several banks, drew and returned the specie. There were but three or four railroads then in the state, and Indianapolis was the center from which most of these expeditions started.

The writer was then agent of Adams & Co.'s Express, in that city, and kept four or five bank messengers in readiness to go to any designated point, on the shortest notice, on this business, and they were kept very busy.

Some broker in Cincinnati had procured one thousand dollars of the Bank of Morocco notes, and sent them up for redemption.

When they arrived, there was but one of my messengers in the city, and his family was sick, and he did not like to leave home, but agreed to stay in the office for me, if I would go to Morocco. I had never heard of the place before, and the first thing was to find its location. The register at the Auditor of State's office fixed it in Newton county, and that was all I could learn. So I started for Newton county to find it. The Indianapolis and Lafayette Railroad was then partly finished, and I went to the end of it, and took a stage-coach for Lafayette.

Hunting up Mr. Reynolds, now president of the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad, and then, as now, a banker in Lafayette, I learned that the proper road to take was through Rensselaer, the county seat of Jasper county, and, procuring a horse, I started for that point. On arrival, I inquired for the location of Morocco, but no one had ever heard of it there, so I went on till I found I was in Newton county; and as both these counties are in the largest prairie east of the Mississippi river, and contained very few inhabitants, it was no easy task to get information, and I could get none; so I took the plainest track I could find through the prairie, and, after traveling till nearly night, I saw two cabins a long distance ahead of me, and made at once for them.

One of them proved to be a blacksmith's-shop, and the other the residence of the *smith*, and these were the only evidences of habitation in sight. I rode up to the door of the

shop, and asked the blacksmith if he could direct me to the town of Morocco. He replied: "You need no direction; you are in the town now." I was very much astonished as well as pleased to hear it, and so I inquired, "Is there a bank in this town?" It was now his turn to be astonished, and he replied, "Yes; why do you ask that question?" I said, "I have some business with the bank, and wish to find it." He thought a moment in silence, and then inquired, "What is the nature of your business?" I told him I would state it to the bank officers, if I could find them, but did not want to publish my business to every one. "Well," says he, "hitch your '*critter*' in the shade there, and come in, and I will go with you to the bank." I did so, and he washed his hands and face and started for the cabin where he lived, and I followed him. As we entered the door he said, "This is the Bank of Morocco; take a seat."

I asked him if he was the cashier, and he said, "I do n't know what they call me, but I do all the business that is done here."

I then told him I had one thousand dollars of notes of his bank, for which I wanted the gold. "Well," says he, "it is late now, and you will have to stay here over night. I will put out your horse, and in the morning we will transact the bank business."

I had no alternative but to comply, and, taking the saddle and bridle from the horse, he drove a stake in the prairie and tied him to it with a long rope, so that he could feed, and we went to the house for supper.

After the meal was finished, the blacksmith remarked, "You see we are not well fixed for keeping tavern, and those two beds you see there are all we have for myself, my old woman, and the four children; but as the weather is warm, I sleep on the prairie, and if you will accompany me I will furnish you a blanket and pillow, and make you as comfortable as I can." It was "Hobson's choice," and I remarked, "That will suit me exactly." Seeing I was a little uneasy about sleeping on the prairie with one thousand dollars in my pocket, he said, "If you wish it, I will put your money in the bank vault to-night, and give you your gold in the morning." That pleased me exceedingly, and I handed him the package. He went to the corner of the cabin, and commenced taking potatoes out of a barrel that stood there, and, after filling a large basket full, he placed my money-package in the barrel, and put the potatoes back, remarking, "That vault is easily unlocked, but it is as safe as any you have in Lafayette"—supposing I resided there. I thought it was at least as safe as in my pocket, sleeping on the prairie, and I was satisfied.

We both made our beds upon the prairie and slept soundly all night, and after a very comfortable breakfast in the morning, the blacksmith remarked, "We will open the bank now, and proceed to business."

Going in the same barrel, he removed the potatoes as before, until he came to my package, when he sat down at the breakfast table and counted the money, and when satisfied it was all right, went back to his potato-barrel, took out the remainder of the potatoes, and then drew out a bag marked "*five thousand dollars*," from which he counted fifty double eagle gold pieces, and handed them to me, put my one thousand dollars in notes in the bag with the rest of the gold, deposited it in his bank-vault again, and *locked it with the potatoes*.

I asked for my bill, but he would not take a cent, remarking, "You are the first man who has ever found the Bank of Morocco, and if you will keep the location to yourself, you are welcome to all I have done for you." I promised to do so, and started for home well pleased with my adventure.^[884]

Charles was listed in an 1855 Indianapolis directory as the Adams Express agent at their offices, which had moved to 34 West Washington Street.^[885] This is the last known record of his presence in Indianapolis.

In 1855 Charles was transferred to the Adams Express office in Cincinnati, Ohio.^[886] The Cincinnati office was the western headquarters of Adams Express, and Charles served there as an assistant to Alfred Gaither.^[887] In March 1859 the office was located at 56 East Third Street and later moved to 67 West Fourth Street.^[888]

Adams Express was contracted to make two shipments of money in 1859, both of which were carried by Charles, according to an early twentieth-century account:

Charles Woodward of the Adams office in Cincinnati was often sent as a special messenger with heavy shipments of money down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the latter stream being considered particularly dangerous territory because of the tough characters which infested it.

In April, 1859, the Adams was asked to transfer \$125,000 in gold from the United States Subtreasury at Little Rock to New Orleans. Woodward went by boat from Cincinnati to Little Rock, and as the rivers were out of their banks, the boats ran only day and tied up at night, so that it took him nearly a week to reach Little Rock. Once there, he put the gold in three safes and went by boat down the Arkansas River to Napoleon, at the river's mouth. There he must transfer to a Mississippi River packet, which was not due until early next morning. Napoleon was a rough town then, a haven for gamblers, thieves and river pirates, and both the steamboat captain and the wharfmaster warned Woodward that if news of the shipment leaked out, not only the money but the messenger's life would be in danger. The wharfman covered the safes with cotton bales as soon as they were unloaded, and Woodward sat by them in great unease through the night until the New Orleans packet came.

In July he was again called upon, this time to escort \$1,250,000 in gold which the Philadelphia Mint was sending via Cincinnati to New Orleans. From Cincinnati Woodward, with two assistants, took the specie by rail to Cairo. It was packed in about

⁸⁸⁴ "C. W." [Charles Woodward], "Expressing in Early Days: A Run on a Bank," *Our Expressman* 2 (November 1874): 51–53. The article is reprinted in full in *Stimson, Express Business*, 357–360. For an analysis of the attribution of this work to Charles, see the entry for *Charles Woodward, "Early Days"* in *Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited*, above.

⁸⁸⁵ *Groom and Smith's Indiana Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror* (Indianapolis: A. C. Groom, 1855), 181.

⁸⁸⁶ *Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants,"* 182. Charles' son Henry Lynde in 1904 stated the move to Cincinnati took place in 1853. See *Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences*.

⁸⁸⁷ D. J. Kenny, *Cincinnati Illustrated: A Pictorial Guide to Cincinnati and the Suburbs* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Company, 1879), 45–46.

⁸⁸⁸ "The Adams Express Co.," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 3 March 1859, 2. See also *Harlow, Old Waybills*, 294.

eight or nine massive wooden boxes, weighing about six hundred pounds each. Again the rivers were in flood, the wharves at Cairo were out of commission, and both passengers and those awkward boxes had to be transferred from train to boat down a steep, slick, muddy bank several miles above Cairo. If one of the boxes had slipped out of the rope slings and plunged into the water, there would have been the deuce to pay. Once on the boat they were placed under the big table in the center of the cabin, with a cloth cover partly concealing them and sheets of iron underneath them to prevent any one's boring into them from below. And once more there was no hint of danger.^[889]

Charles himself picked up the story of his life in a memoir of his Civil War experiences that was reprinted in revised form after his death:

In the fall of 1859 I resigned the agency of the Adams Express at Cincinnati, and accepted a route agency covering all our offices in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and the offices on the river in Ohio and Kentucky; but after traveling a year in that territory I accepted the superintendency of the Second Military Division of the Adams Express Co., with headquarters at Cairo, Ill.^[890]

Early in the war the sagacious managers of the Adams Express Company conceived and put in execution a plan for following with their express the armies of the United States through the South.

For this purpose they organized three Military Divisions, one with the army of the Potomac, another with the army of the Tennessee, and a third with the army of the Cumberland.

The writer was with the army of the Tennessee from its first organization until the close of the war. Commencing with the occupation of Cairo by General Swift, who was soon succeeded by General Grant, he pushed on down the Mississippi to New Orleans—up the Tennessee to the head of navigation—up the Cumberland to Nashville—up the Arkansas to Little Rock—up White River to the head of navigation, and through the bayous and lagoons of the South wherever a steamer of the smallest size could be driven by the power of steam—by rail from Columbus, Ky., to Mobile—from Memphis to Corinth, from Little Rock to Devall's Bluff, Ark., and from New Orleans to Brashear City, Louisiana, making also the trip on the Gulf of Mexico from Pensacola, Florida, to Galveston, Texas, and though never attached to the army, saw more of war than many who were in that organization during the whole conflict.^[891]

Because the movement of freight was essential to the war effort, expressmen remained in their jobs and were exempt from frontline military service in both the Union and the Confederacy.^[892]

Charles and his family were enumerated as residents of Cincinnati on 1 June 1860 in the United States census. The family included Charles, forty-four, "Express Agent,"

⁸⁸⁹ Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 90.

⁸⁹⁰ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137.

⁸⁹¹ Charles Woodward, "War," 33–34. For an analysis of the attribution of this work to Charles, see the entry for Charles Woodward, "Early Days" in Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited, above.

⁸⁹² Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 290.

with a “Value of Personal Estate” of \$1,600; Elizabeth, forty-two; and their children: Mary, twenty-one; Charles Jr., seventeen; Henry Lynde, fifteen; Urania, twelve; Kate, ten; and William, seven. All the children except Mary were said to have “Attended School within the year.” Also in the household was Anna Bryan, nineteen, “Servant,” born in Ireland.^[893]

Through the years of the Civil War, Charles’ family apparently remained in Cincinnati while he worked out of temporary offices in other cities and traveled as an expressman. Cincinnati city directories listed Charles annually from 1862 to 1866, calling him variously an agent and a clerk of the Adams Express Company. During the period his Cincinnati home address was listed variously as 329 Elm Street and “s[outh]. w[est]. c[orner]. Court and Elm.”^[894] The two addresses apparently represented the same building or different addresses in the same complex of buildings (Charles would later be listed at the second address and his sons at the first).

Charles was working in Cairo, Illinois, when the Battle of Belmont occurred on 7 November 1861 twenty miles south on the Mississippi River at Belmont, Missouri. Troops under Ulysses S. Grant departed Cairo by steamship on 6 November with plans to attack Columbus, Kentucky, but diverted to Belmont after learning that Confederate forces had crossed the river and were encamped there. A battle resulted in 80 Union soldiers killed and 322 wounded and 105 Confederate killed and 419 wounded.^[895] Charles said that the presence of Grant’s army in Cairo kept the expressmen busy:

While in Cairo, the first army assembled in the West was concentrated in that city, and our business was rapidly increased. Shortly after, the battle of Belmont occurred, followed by the capture of Paducah and the evacuation of Columbus, Ky., which gave us a large field of operation, and an addition of two important offices. A very large army was gathered in the vicinity of Paducah, Cairo, and Columbus, Ky., and the express business was very heavy at all those places^[896]

The next spring Charles arrived on the scene just before the end of the Battle of Shiloh in Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. Writing of himself in the third person, Charles reported that “the writer”

found himself April 6th and 7th, 1862, at Shiloh, Tennessee, during the bloodiest battle of the war. Commencing at daylight on a clear Sunday morning, it continued during that day and the next, sweeping over the field a hurricane of destruction. Having much curiosity to see what a great battle was, he kept as near the rear of the Union army as

⁸⁹³ Charles Woodward family, Cincinnati Ward 15, Hamilton County, Ohio, page 84, lines 4–12, dwelling 458, family 605, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, M653, 1438 reels, reel 977; via “1860 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

⁸⁹⁴ *Williams’ Cincinnati Directory*, 1862 edition, 341; 1863 edition, 360; 1864 edition, 383; 1865 edition, 398; 1866 edition, 437.

⁸⁹⁵ *Union Army*, 5:108–110.

⁸⁹⁶ *Charles Woodward, “With Grant,”* 137. See also *Charles Woodward, “War,”* 34.

safety would allow, and had a fine opportunity to see it, or at least that portion of it where he was.

This battle has been described so often that he will not repeat a description here, but as both armies were composed of inexperienced men, the fighting was very severe and the destruction great.

The dead and wounded literally lay in heaps upon the ground, and many a poor fellow died for want of proper care, which the exigencies of the conflict did not allow. After the battle was over and every thing quiet, he opened an express office upon the battle field, and continued it there until the fall of Corinth, Mississippi, when it was removed to that point, and continued there until the close of the war.^[897]

At the battle of Shiloh a cannon ball passed through the log house we used for an office, nearly destroying it. A day or two after, a detail of soldiers made it as good as ever. Nothing was injured or lost, as there was very little in it.^[898]

Casualties at Shiloh totaled 1,754 Union killed, 8,408 wounded, and 2,885 captured or missing and 1,728 Confederate killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 captured or missing.^[899]

Shiloh and the fall of Corinth, Mississippi, to Union troops on 30 May 1862^[900] opened new territory for Adams Express, Charles said:

Soon after this event, the Southern army evacuated Columbus, Kentucky, and this was the next point occupied by the Express Company. From this point the progress South was rapid, and Memphis, Jackson, LaGrange and many smaller places on the Mobile and Ohio and Mississippi Central Railroads were occupied, and offices opened. Heretofore the business had been carried on by means of steamers, but now much of it was transferred to the dilapidated railroads found in that section of the country, and always attended with danger of loss of life and valuables, for these railroads ran through a country the inhabitants of which were extremely hostile to the Government of the United States and favorable to the Rebel cause. Trains were fired on often and messengers and runs captured.^[901]

Charles recounted that Adams Express agents in Jackson, Tennessee, twice had problems with shipping the bodies of deceased soldiers home for burial:

During the occupation of Jackson, Tennessee, by the army, a soldier, whose parents, living in the North, were quite wealthy, was shot on picket duty in the vicinity of the town.

⁸⁹⁷ Charles Woodward, "War," 34.

⁸⁹⁸ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137.

⁸⁹⁹ *Union Army*, 6:809.

⁹⁰⁰ *Union Army*, 5:316–317.

⁹⁰¹ Charles Woodward, "War," 34.

His colonel telegraphed to the parents, and his body was ordered sent by express to his northern home, and a very fine metallic coffin was sent to carry the body in. The corpse was prepared and placed in the coffin, and delivered to the express agent at Jackson.

The weather was very warm and the express office very small, and no one supposing a corpse would be meddled with, it was left for the night on the platform at the depot, to be ready for the train next morning. During the night the body was taken from the coffin and laid on the platform, and the coffin stolen, and was never found, although the express company offered a reward of twenty dollars for any information leading to its recovery.

It was undoubtedly used for the burial of some one in the silent hours of night, and all trace of it lost forever.

The soldier's body was enclosed in a humble coffin and sent home, and I presume the express company paid for the stolen one.^[902]

Another body shipped from Jackson was also lost, but this one was eventually located by chance and returned to the soldier's family:

A brigadier general of some distinction died at Jackson, and his body was inclosed in a metallic case and forwarded to Washington, D. C., to his widow who resided there. Two or three months afterwards, inquiry was made for the body, as it had not arrived, and could not be accounted for.

Search was made in all directions, but the body was not found, and his disconsolate widow had given it up for lost, when the express agent at Cairo, Illinois, strolling one Sunday in the city graveyard, came across a wooden headboard with the general's name in full upon it. It had been left on the wharf-boat for a few moments, and in the hurry of business forgotten, and was placed with the bodies being taken from the hospitals and buried, the physician's certificate on the coffin giving the occupant's name; and this simple circumstance finally recovered the body, and it was forwarded to its final resting place at the nation's capital, greatly to the relief of all concerned.^[903]

A third case of lost freight in Jackson was not as surprising. This one was solved after the intervention of General Nathan Kimball:

One of the messengers of our company had in his charge a barrel of whisky for the hospital at Jackson, and he delivered it upon the platform at that place and took the agent's receipt. Upon the rear of the train on which the messenger rode, and which brought the whisky, was a freight car loaded with soldiers. As the car slowly passed the platform when the train had started, four of the soldiers jumped upon the platform, and, though the train was still in motion, succeeded in pitching the barrel of whisky into the car in the presence of the agent, who could not stop them. He informed General Kimball, who was in command at Jackson, and he telegraphed to Corinth to arrest

⁹⁰² Charles Woodward, "War," 51. See also Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138. See also Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 300.

⁹⁰³ Charles Woodward, "War," 51.

every man in the car on arrival, which was done. The four soldiers who stole the whisky were tried by court martial and sentenced to forfeit two months' pay; then each man in the car was assessed for the value of the whisky in proportion to his rank and pay, and the matter was settled without loss to the express company.^[904]

Memphis, Tennessee, surrendered to Union troops on 6 June 1862,^[905] and immediately after the Union victory Charles moved his office there and remained until a year after the end of the war:

The Southern Express Company had maintained an office in that city up to the surrender, and on the happening of that event endeavored to remove it, but only partially succeeded. They left their office furniture and safes, a large quantity of O. H. freight, some money (mostly Confederate), and all their wagons. Their horses had been seized by the Confederate army. We took possession of all their property and opened our office in theirs a few days after our arrival, and when the arrival of a large army made more room necessary than we had in the small office we had temporarily opened on our first arrival. The only communication with the outside world was by the river, the railroad having been all destroyed.^[906]

Going to Memphis with Charles was an employee of the Cincinnati office, C. L. Loop, who would serve as Charles' cashier throughout the war.^[907]

New fighting occurred in Corinth in the fall of 1862. During the Battle of Corinth on 3 and 4 October,^[908] the Adams Express office in that town was hit by a Confederate shell:

Our office at Corinth, Miss., was near the track of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, and directly in front of it, but on the other side of the track, was a turn-table. During the battle of Corinth a large shell fell on this turn-table while the agent, his clerk, a messenger, and soldier were in the office. The door was open in front and a window open in the rear. They all ran for the window and jumped into it at the same time, and became so tightly wedged into it that it was with the greatest difficulty they got out. None of them were injured, though badly scared; but when that was over, they all had a hearty laugh at the situation.^[909]

A man in a nearby hotel was not so lucky:

Across a narrow alley, within twenty feet of the office, stood the Tishimingo House, a large hotel. A few moments after the explosion of the shell mentioned above, a guest of the above hotel started up the stairway in the front hall, when a cannon ball struck

⁹⁰⁴ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138.

⁹⁰⁵ *Union Army*, 6:591–592.

⁹⁰⁶ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137. Charles mistakenly dated the surrender of Memphis to June 1861. See also Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 294–295.

⁹⁰⁷ Goodspeed Brothers, *Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee* (1887; reprint, Nashville, Tennessee: C. and R. Elder Booksellers, 1974), 1001–1002.

⁹⁰⁸ *Union Army*, 5:317.

⁹⁰⁹ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138.

the house, passing directly through it, and killing the man before he reached the second story.^[910]

At about the same time, on a trip to Corinth, Charles was captured by Confederate troops and brought before General Nathan Bedford Forrest:

In the fall of 1862 I started for Corinth, and when the train reached Trenton, Tenn., we were ordered to halt and wait for orders, as General Forrest was making a raid on the railroad below. After remaining two hours at Trenton the conductor had orders to proceed, but the enemy were ahead of us, and before we reached Humboldt our train was surrounded and all on board, including myself and our messenger, were captured. We had been advised before starting from Columbus, Ky., that there was some danger, and I ordered all the money to be left there, and it happened that we had but little freight—all soldiers' packages of little value. It was soon stolen by the Confederate soldiers and the train burned, but our loss, except our packing chest and the damage to the messenger's safe, which we recovered, was small.^[911]

We were all marched about ten miles through the woods to the headquarters of General Forrest, and each one sent before the General "to answer for himself."

All who were directly or indirectly connected with the army were held as prisoners, and the others were released. When your correspondent made his appearance he was asked his name, age and nativity, and about the following conversation took place:

Gen. F—What brings you down here?

C—I am in charge of the business of the Adams Express Company, following the armies of the United States through the South.

Gen. F—Are you in any way connected with that army?

C—I am not.

Gen. F—Are you a correspondent for any Northern newspaper?

C—I am not.

Gen. F—Are you engaged in the purchase of cotton or any of the products of the South, either in or out of the lines of the Northern Army?

C—I am not.

Gen. F—What are your duties as an Expressman.

⁹¹⁰ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138.

⁹¹¹ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137.

To this question your correspondent gave a long and full answer, when everything appeared to be satisfactory, and turning to a Lieutenant present the General ordered my name to be recorded as discharged, and sent to Jackson, Tennessee.

All discharged prisoners were sent that night to Jackson, where we arrived safely about daylight the next morning, well pleased with our visit to General Forrest.^[912]

Later in 1862 Charles was captured again by Confederate troops, and this time he was brought before General Earl Van Dorn:

About Christmas, in the same year, Van Dorn made a raid through the northern part of Mississippi, getting in the rear of General Grant, who was trying to make his way to Vicksburg overland, and captured Holly Springs, Miss. I had just arrived there when the place was surrendered, and I was again a prisoner of war^[913]

were again sent before the Commanding General, but that officer was getting nervous on account of the near approach of General Grant's army, and he therefore ordered us all released upon signing a parole.

When the papers were ready we were drawn up in line on the banks of a little creek, which we could step across, and as each signed his name he stepped to the opposite side of the creek. There were two tables and paroles in order to expedite matters, and quite a crowd stood between them anxious to sign and step over.

Your correspondent did not wish to sign a parole, and used a little strategy to avoid it. Stepping between the tables, he watched his opportunity, and while the officers were engaged at other points, quietly stepped over the creek, and was not discovered.

We had a long tramp of twenty miles by night to reach Davis' Mills, the nearest Union picket, and arrived there about daylight the following morning. After taking a good meal, a train was sent to Bolivar, Tennessee, with the prisoners of the Southern army and the paroled prisoners of the Union army, and the next day, by riding where trains could run, and walking where they could not, we reached Memphis in safety.^[914]

In the late spring and early summer of 1863, Charles said, Adams Expressmen operated at his direction just out of range of the Confederate guns during Grant's siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi:

A line of posts was established and Vicksburg was surrounded by a wall of soldiers. All around that line the Adams Express Company had offices in tents, with an agent at each prominent point, doing business as quietly if not as safely as in any country town upon a Northern railroad.^[915]

⁹¹² Charles Woodward, "War," 34.

⁹¹³ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137.

⁹¹⁴ Charles Woodward, "War," 35.

⁹¹⁵ Charles Woodward, "War," 35.

I had a man at each headquarters, six or eight in number around the city, and a general officer on a steamer at Chickasaw Bayou, just out of range of the guns back of the city. Each of these men received and receipted for all money and freight packages brought to them during the day, and toward night two men were started in an army wagon with a safe and chest to gather up what had been accepted during the day, take it to the general office on the steamer, where it was waybilled during the night, and a messenger sent to Memphis with it on the mail steamer, which left at daylight daily. In all these operations, extending over a period of six months, we never had a guard, and never lost a dollar.^[916]

Charles was in Vicksburg for the formal surrender of the city on 5 July 1863, arriving after taking up arms in a battle he happened upon on his way to witness the surrender. The Battle of Helena, Arkansas, began in the early morning hours of 4 July when Confederate troops attacked an entrenched Union brigade commanded by General Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss.^[917] Charles assisted Union artillery forces during the battle, the only time he took up arms during the war:

On the morning of July 3, 1863, it was rumored in Memphis, where I then was, that Vicksburg would soon be surrendered to General Grant, and I left on the first boat south to be present at the surrender, if possible. We did not get off until night, and arrived at Helena, Ark., before daylight the next morning, July 4th. Here we found a furious battle in progress. Our troops, numbering about 2,000, had been attacked by 4,000 Confederates, and had fought them during the greater part of the night, and were still fighting.^[918]

The boat in which Charles rode was stopped by the Union vessel U.S.S. *Tyler*. The warship was the former paddlewheel steamer *A. O. Tyler*, which had been made into an armed timberclad with the addition of guns and heavy wooden armor.^[919]

When passing Helena, Arkansas, on the morning of July 4th, about daylight we were hailed by the gunboat “Tyler” and ordered to land. After reaching the shore we learned that a battle had been in progress there since about three o’clock A. M., but all was silent at that time except an occasional gun from the “Tyler,” to check the progress of the enemy who were advancing to renew the attack. There were about one hundred soldiers and twenty-five male passengers on board who were all ordered on shore, armed and sent to the fort in the rear of the city.

Not being in the fighting mood, your correspondent called on the Commander, whom he well knew, to get excused. The General took the musket and told him to report to the Commander of the fort, and make himself generally useful. At this time the fighting had commenced again, and as the Union army were outnumbered over three to one, they were very busy and short of proper persons to distribute artillery ammunition.

⁹¹⁶ Charles Woodward, “With Grant,” 137. See also Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 296.

⁹¹⁷ *Union Army*, 5:496.

⁹¹⁸ Charles Woodward, “With Grant,” 137.

⁹¹⁹ Myron J. Smith Jr., *The Timberclads in the Civil War: The Lexington, Conestoga, and Tyler on the Western Waters* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2008), 61.

Your correspondent volunteered at once, and during the battle passed powder, shot and shell from the magazine to the guns, as fast as possible, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy fleeing in all directions, from the heavy firing from the forts and gunboats in the river.^[920]

I did my first and last fighting; but in less than an hour the Confederates were in full retreat, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.^[921]

The Union forces at Helena listed 57 killed, 146 wounded, and 36 captured or missing, while the Confederates reported 173 killed, 687 wounded, and 776 captured or missing.^[922]

The next day Charles went on to Vicksburg:

we proceeded on our voyage, arriving at Vicksburg July 5th, and landing at its wharf. It was a strange sight, the battered houses, the caves in the bluffs to which the inhabitants all fled during the bombardment, and took their household goods—the overjoyed “contrabands”—forty thousand Union soldiers—thirty thousand Confederate prisoners waiting the signing of their paroles—the streets filled to blockading with horses, mules and army wagons—the trains of ambulances bringing in the wounded and carrying out the dead—the blank and sullen faces on the one side, and the lusty cheers from the other—the constant arrival of steamers and gunboats at the landing with their flags flying, their guns roaring and their bands playing—the hoisting of the “Stars and Stripes,” and the pulling down of the Confederate flags, were sights and scenes which no one who witnessed will ever forget.^[923]

I missed being at Vicksburg when the Federal army entered the city, but I saw the ceremony of the formal surrender of July 5th.^[924]

Charles immediately began the process of establishing an Adams Express office in the newly captured city in a building designated for the purpose by occupying Union General Ulysses S. Grant:

When I arrived at Vicksburg, July 5th, I found our general office boat in front of the city, and our headquarters office broken up and my men in the city waiting for orders. I at once applied to General Grant for a building for an office, and he assigned me to a large storeroom, three stories high, on the principal street of the town, but which, in common with nearly every house in Vicksburg, had been badly damaged by the rain of shot and shell which had poured into the city during the siege. It had a hole about ten feet in diameter from the roof to the cellar, where a shell had struck and exploded, and all the glass in the windows was broken and the doors badly shattered.

We obtained some lumber by tearing down an old shed in the rear of the building, and the men went to work and repaired the damages, which was done in very rough

⁹²⁰ Charles Woodward, “War,” 35.

⁹²¹ Charles Woodward, “With Grant,” 137. See also Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 295.

⁹²² *Union Army*, 5:496.

⁹²³ Charles Woodward, “War,” 35–36.

⁹²⁴ Charles Woodward, “With Grant,” 137.

carpenter style, but which kept out weather and thieves, and that was all that was likely to trouble us in that hot city, during the summer months at least.

We had to send to Memphis for glass, but that was soon procured, and we were ready for business in two days after the surrender. Wagons and horses were also shipped from Memphis, and the office was opened in good style. Needing a large safe before one could be shipped from Cincinnati, we confiscated one from one of the banks, had the lock picked and repaired, a new key made, and used it for about a month, when we returned it with its contents (a large amount of Confederate money) as we found them, undisturbed.^[925]

The fall of Vicksburg put the Mississippi River under Union control, Charles said, but that did not stop Southern sympathizers from harassing Union shipping.

the Mississippi river was lined with independent commands, known as bushwhackers, who kept up a guerilla fight on Federal transports navigating it, causing some heavy losses and much annoyance. A favorite point for this class of soldiers, was near the mouth of the Arkansas river on both sides of the Mississippi. Your correspondent was often obliged to pass this point, and the messengers of the express companies were constantly exposed to the shots of the enemy for a distance of nearly one hundred miles, but they never succeeded in capturing a "run," though they *just missed it* several times.

On one occasion your correspondent was in his berth, and the express messenger in an adjoining state-room, when both were awakened by the firing of cannon. The safe way was to lie still and take the chances, and this they both did, until a six pound shot from one of the guns struck the end of one of the messenger's safes, as two of them stood end to end under his berth, and passed through both of them, scattering the money on the stateroom floor. This roused the messenger, and he concluded to move his quarters, but your correspondent thought he was as safe at that point as any other, and remained there until the firing ceased.

The damage proved very small, as but few of the packages were touched, and those but slightly torn.

A few days afterwards, in descending the Mississippi near the same point, your correspondent found himself on a Cincinnati steamer, the captain of which, an old friend of his, had his family aboard.

Ascertaining that the boat would be fired on, he constructed a shot-proof apartment of bales of hay, in which he put his family, with your correspondent in charge of them, and a very severe cannonade, which did great damage to the boat, was passed in safety to all on board. It was not known to many that the boat would be fired on, indeed it was not certain she would be, and it was very amusing to see the stampede of officers, soldiers and passengers, when a gun from the shore announced the commencement of hostilities.

⁹²⁵ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 137. See also Harlow, *Old Waybills*, 296.

All came down the stairway *pell mell*, and took shelter behind any object that would protect them.

There was a small cannon on the bow of the boat, and it was quickly manned, and the firing returned, but probably without damage to any one, as the distance was too great and the boat too unsteady.

The effect of this cannonading was to make every person indifferent, and after your correspondent had passed through two or three it would hardly cause him to leave his seat or stop reading his paper, except the curiosity to see all that was going on. The sense of danger had departed. It was similar to the experience of a veteran soldier, after passing through a series of battles, and the excitement seemed rather to be wished for than avoided, and the voyage was considered rather a tame one if the boat was not fired on once or twice at least before it ended.^[926]

Charles sometimes traveled the Mississippi in company with his wife. In March and April 1864, Charles and Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward traveled by steamship to New Orleans. On 8 March Charles was issued a two-day pass at Memphis allowing him to travel north to Cairo. Then on 14 March “C Woodward & Lady” were issued a five-day pass at Vicksburg allowing them to proceed south by steamship to New Orleans. On board the steamship *Meteor* at New Orleans on 17 March Elizabeth Allen signed an oath of allegiance “as a true and loyal citizen of the United States.” On 2 April “C Woodward & Wife” were given a pass to travel back north from New Orleans to Memphis on the steamships *Continental* and *Mississippi*.^[927]

Later that year, at 4 a.m. on the morning of 21 August 1864, Confederate cavalry raided Memphis in an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Union garrison.^[928] Charles awoke to witness a running battle in the street outside his quarters:

During my residence in Memphis, General Forrest made a raid into the city. I was sleeping in the second story of our office, and was awakened about midnight by the firing of muskets on the street in front of the office. I arose and put my head out of the window to see what was going on, when a musket ball struck the window frame within three inches of my head. I retreated. A battle was in progress in the streets between the raiders and the guard of the military prison near the office for the purpose of releasing the prisoners confined in it; but it was not a success, and the Confederates were soon driven off. That was the only attempt to recover the possession of Memphis by the Confederate authorities.^[929]

⁹²⁶ Charles Woodward, “War,” 50.

⁹²⁷ Charles Woodward and Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, Mississippi River travel passes, Memphis, Tennessee; Vicksburg, Mississippi; New Orleans, Louisiana; 8, 14 March, 2 April 1864, originals housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, oath of allegiance, New Orleans, Louisiana, 17 March 1864, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁹²⁸ *Union Army*, 6:592.

⁹²⁹ Charles Woodward, “With Grant,” 138.

The commander of the Union forces in the city escaped capture only by leaving his bed and fleeing to the fields in his night clothes, so thorough was the surprise. As Memphis was the home of General Forrest, and as most of the soldiers in his command were residents of the city and neighborhood, but few acts of vandalism were permitted.^[930]

Charles continued to work in the South until a year after the end of the Civil War:

The war closed in 1865, and in November of that year the Adams Express turned over to the Southern Express Company its Mississippi River route, and all its railroad routes in the South except the Mobile & Ohio, which company refused to make a contract with the Southern Express Company, and the Adams Express Company continued to run it until some time in 1866, when it was finally turned over^[931]

In 1866 Charles returned to Ohio, but before leaving he assisted in the attempted recovery of money lost in a steamship accident. The boilers of the steamship *W. R. Carter* exploded at 3 a.m. on 2 February 1866, killing 215 passengers and crew and scalding most of the thirty-five survivors.^[932] A safe containing money in the care of Adams Express had gone with the vessel to the bottom of the Mississippi:

I returned again to Cincinnati, and made my headquarters there. Before I had done so, however, the sinking of the *W. R. Carter* occurred, by which the Southern Express Company lost a large amount of money. That steamer left St. Louis the last of January, 1866, and took on board at Cairo a large amount of freight for the South, and when near Vicksburg, Miss., exploded her boilers, took fire, and sunk in eighty feet of water, going entirely out of sight. Though not then in charge of the route, I started at once to see what could be done to save the money and freight; but the water was so deep over the wreck that the steamer I was on passed directly over her without touching anything, and the captain decided that nothing could be done till the water fell. But the Southern Express Company determined to make the trial, and sent a wrecking boat down from St. Louis, but she failed to do anything. Several attempts were made, and at last some wreckers from New Orleans succeeded in raising the safe and saving about one-half the money, nearly two years after the accident.^[933]

Charles completed his duties with the military arm of Adams Express at the end of the war and returned to Cincinnati, according to his nephew:

For the next eighteen years he held the position of Gen'l Supt., over the territory extending from Columbus, Ohio and Junction City, Kansas and as far south as Texas, thus including five states and th[e] Indian Territory. His average mil[e]age was from 800 to 1000 miles a week for many years.^[934]

⁹³⁰ Charles Woodward, "War," 51.

⁹³¹ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138.

⁹³² Mary Gorton McBride and Ann Mathison McLaurin, *Randall Lee Gibson of Louisiana: Confederate General and New South Reformer* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 121–122.

⁹³³ Charles Woodward, "With Grant," 138.

⁹³⁴ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 186.

Cincinnati directories reflect Charles' return to the city. Beginning in 1867 he was called a "Special Agent" of the Adams Express Company and was again listed as residing at the southwest corner of Court and Elm. He had moved to a new address, 8 Hopkins Street, by the time the next directory was published in June 1868. In 1869 he was again listed at the Hopkins Street address.^[935]

As part of his duties with the Adams Express Company, Charles published an advertisement in an Evansville, Indiana, newspaper in May 1869, announcing the opening of an office there:

Adams Express Company. New Arrangement. This old and reliable Express Company has fitted up a new office, a No. 6 South First Street, and is prepared to do business to all the most prominent cities East and South.

The notice was signed "Charles Woodward, Special Agent." The advertisement also sought a new employee: "Wanted—At this office, a Boy who can read manuscript. None other need apply."^[936]

In the directory published in June 1870, Charles was said to be employed by the Adams Express Company, but his residence was listed as the Cincinnati suburb of Avondale.^[937] When Charles' family was recorded in the United States census of 1870 the same month, they were listed as living in the "Addition of May 16th 1870," a reference to the city's unsuccessful 1870 attempt to annex the suburb of Avondale.^[938] The Woodward household included Charles, fifty-four, "Genl Agt Adams Ex Co." with "Personal Estate" valued at \$2,000; Elizabeth, fifty-three, "Keeps House"; and their children, Mary, thirty-one, "Helps Mother"; Urainia, twenty-two, with a ditto mark under Mary's occupation; Kate, twenty, ditto; and William, seventeen, "At School."^[939]

Charles visited Evansville, Indiana, on 18 December 1872. A note in a local newspaper reported that "The Adams Express Company was well represented in the city last night. Charles Woodward, General Agent of the Western Division, was registered at the Sherwood House."^[940] He did so again on 19 June 1873, staying at the same hotel.^[941]

Upon the death of Charles' mother, Maria Porter Woodward, in 1873, Charles received a portion of his father's estate through the division of a trust overseen by his brother to benefit his mother during her twenty-three-year widowhood. Money that three children had borrowed from their father during his lifetime was deducted before the division was made. Charles' debt to the estate totaled \$1,307, almost twice the amount owed by any other child. After the deduction, Charles received bank and railroad stock worth \$3,772.08. At the time of settlement Charles settled a longstanding

⁹³⁵ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1867 edition, 496; 1868 edition, 548; 1869 edition, 605.

⁹³⁶ "Adams Express Company," *Evansville [Indiana] Daily Journal*, 15 May 1869, 4.

⁹³⁷ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1870 edition, 658.

⁹³⁸ *Goss, Queen City*, 2:528.

⁹³⁹ *United States 1870 Census*, Charles Woodward family, "Cincinnati Addition of May 16th 1870," Hamilton County, Ohio, page 12, lines 11–16, dwelling 73, family 92, reel 1207.

⁹⁴⁰ "Personal," *Evansville [Indiana] Journal*, 19 December 1872, 4.

⁹⁴¹ "Personal," *Evansville [Indiana] Journal*, 19 June 1873, 5.

debt with the family of his late Uncle Charles, having the amount of the debt deducted from his share and sent directly to his uncle's family.^[942]

Charles was not listed in the Cincinnati directories of 1871, 1872, or 1873, apparently because his job took him away from the city for much of the time. One of Charles' trips brought him to the Adams Express office in Houston, Texas, in January 1874. While there, he visited the office of the *Houston Daily Mercury* on 21 January, as noted by the newspaper's editors the next day:

C. Woodward, Esq., General Agent of the Adams Express Company, and one of the oldest and ablest of their corps of officers, paid our sanctum a visit yesterday morning. He was accompanied by our friend Col. Small, President of the Texas Express Company.^[943]

In 1874 Charles retired from traveling, but continued to work in the Adams Express office, according to an account written in that year and published in 1881:

He continued in that responsible and trying position until the close of the war, but in 1866 resumed the general agency in Ohio, and was very useful in that rôle, until (being disabled by ill-health, and deafness consequent upon it), he was led to assume the less active and more suitable office of correspondent, in 1874; and still pursues the even tenor of that duty, in the "Adams" Cincinnati office, respected and beloved by all who know him.^[944]

Charles sometimes contributed accounts of his experiences as an expressman to periodicals:

When George H. Price, of Louisville, Ky., disposed of the magazine, "Our Expressmen," to J. Henderson, that gentleman (since deceased) found a wheel-horse for his little team in that experienced expressman and right worthy citizen, Charles Woodward. The magazine was published, as its still more able successor, "The Expressmen's Monthly," now is, in Cincinnati.

"C. W." was in the Adams Express office, in that western metropolis, fairly settled down to desk work, after many years of more active life, in all capacities, from messenger to superintendent, and, to favor the new editor and publisher, would, every now and then, jot down on paper some amusing or interesting incident in his chequered life.^[945]

⁹⁴² Samuel Woodward to Charles Woodward, 21 October 1873, [1]–[3], original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward to Charles Woodward, 30 October 1873, [1]–[2], original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward, "Appraisal of Estate of S. B. Woodward," circa October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Samuel Woodward, "Amount of Property as Affirmed Belonging to the Estate of Sam. B. Woodward," circa October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁹⁴³ "C. Woodward, Esq.," *Houston Daily Mercury*, 22 January 1874, 2.

⁹⁴⁴ *Stimson, Express Business*, 192.

⁹⁴⁵ *Stimson, Express Business*, 328.

In articles in *Our Expressman* in 1874 and 1875, Charles recalled his Civil War experiences and the early days of the express business. A quarter century earlier express packages were generally shipped by boat, he wrote. Business was conducted in a less formal way, yet freight was seldom lost or stolen. The building of the railroad changed the business forever, according to Charles:

But this was an age of improvements, as well as that in which we now live; and link after link of railroad was built and occupied by the express companies, until Puck's idea of "putting a girdle round the world in forty minutes"^[946] begins to be realized, time and space almost annihilated, and a continent crossed in less time than was consumed twenty-five years ago in a journey from New York to St. Louis.

But changes in *time* are not the only ones. Equally great changes have been made in the manner of doing business.

For years after the writer commenced the express business such a thing as a messenger's receipt-book was unknown, and the messenger left the terminal office and scattered his freight and *money* broadcast over the land without the scratch of a pen or pencil to tell where, and a loss seldom occurred. No receipt was taken for anything delivered from an office (except money) for a long time after the business was started. Instead of the splendid and safe envelopes now used for C. O. D.'s and F. C.'s, the bill was then encircled by a little strap of paper, on which was printed the significant letters C. O. D., or words "for collection," and this strap was pinned to the bill, note, or draft. When paid, the money was placed in the same strap loose, both ends exposed, silver and gold coin placed in a common envelope, and the total amount pinned to the strap and returned, without the aid of mucilage or sealing-wax, and of the thousands of dollars which the writer has sent and received in this primitive way, he does not now recollect a collection *short*.

When trains were put in use, those of the earlier times made all local stops and expressmen delivered at a more leisurely pace, Charles wrote:

Railroads, however, did not then run *express trains*, but stopped at each office long enough for a messenger to put off his freight and money, receive his run, settle with the agent, and have time to talk to him afterward; and yet they were as much the marvel of the times as the express trains, which scarcely halt at stations at all, requiring the messenger to get off his freight without delay, hurry in his run, and get a scrawl from the agents as they try to write their names on his book while the train is in motion, and they are running on the platform to keep up with it.

Much of the early expressing was done by means of the *stage-coach*, and generally without a messenger. Money and valuable packages were handled by the "driver," often without taking even a receipt, and were as faithfully delivered as in these later times it is done by messengers in pay of the companies.

⁹⁴⁶ William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act 2, scene 1, line 175.

What would become of express packages in these degenerate days if handed to drivers of our modern hacks and coaches without receipts?

In those early days everybody appeared to be honest; and though time was not so fast, and charges perhaps a little higher, the business appeared to be done as much to the satisfaction of the public as at present.

In recalling earlier days, Charles acknowledged that the extension of the railroad across America had its benefits:

But the laying of two parallel rails all over the country, and the placing of a steam kettle upon them, has wrought wonderful changes, not only in the express, but all other kinds of business.^[947]

The first express run was made on 4 March 1839, Charles wrote, and fourteen months later Alvin Adams founded Adams & Company Express:

From this small beginning the express business has grown to its present enormous proportions. From a single route of a few miles, it extends almost “to the ends of the earth.”^[948]

Thus in thirty-six years the business has grown from infancy until it has become the wonder of the age. *Then* one man with little capital, but abundant energy and resources, managed the express business of the country. *Now* there are probably fifteen thousand engaged in the same business and *fifty millions* of capital employed.

There are more men and more horses employed daily *now* in the express business in the single city of New York, than were employed in the whole United States twenty-five years ago; and more in the city of Cincinnati *now*, than were employed in all the country west of the Allegheny mountains in 1850.

Twenty-five years ago there were not to exceed fifty express offices in the great West, and all of them did not employ over one hundred men and twenty-five horses. *Now* there are more than five thousand offices, employing six thousand men and over one thousand horses. *Then* its operations were confined to the Atlantic coast; *now* it crosses a Continent. *Then* it was a *pigmy*; *now*, a giant. What is to be its future no one can foretell, and time alone can develop.^[949]

From 1874 to 1883, Cincinnati city directories listed Charles as the general agent of the Adams Express Company, with the exception of 1875, which called him “correspondent, Adams Express Co.” Throughout the period his home address was given

⁹⁴⁷ Charles Woodward, “Early Days,” 4–5.

⁹⁴⁸ Zechariah, 9:10.

⁹⁴⁹ “W.” [Charles Woodward], “Then and Now,” *Our Expressman* 2 (June 1875): 168–169. For an analysis of the attribution of this work to Charles, see the entry for Charles Woodward, “Early Days” in Short Titles of Works Frequently Cited, above.

as Ridgeway Avenue in Avondale.^[950] The 1880 United States census confirmed the address. The Woodward family of Ridgeway Avenue included Charles, sixty-four, "Special Agt Express co"; Elizabeth, sixty-three, "Keeping House"; and their daughters, all unmarried: Mary, forty-nine; Urania, thirty-seven; and Kate, thirty. The household also included Mary Fanner, age nineteen, "Servant," born Kentucky.^[951]

At the 1880 funeral of former Cincinnati Adams Express superintendent Alfred Gaither, Charles was among several friends and former employees of the deceased who served as "carriers" of the casket.^[952] Earlier Charles said that his former employer was instrumental in the expansion of the express business: "to him more than to any other man is it indebted for its wonderful growth west of the Allegheny mountains."^[953]

Charles wrote a will on 3 May 1883. To his son Charles Jr., he left a silver pitcher "presented to me by the employes of the Adams Express Company at Memphis Tennessee also my father's cane and my Spence's history of the United States." Son William was to receive "my gold watch and chain," and son Henry "my Scott Family Bible my father's portrait in oil and his silver watch." Charles directed that "the rest and residue of my house hold furniture pictures plate china and books I give and bequeath to my wife and daughters Mary Urania and Kitty to be owned and used by them in common." Henry was designated to serve as executor of the estate.^[954]

Charles died the next month, according to his nephew:

He retired shortly before his death, which occurred at his house in Avondale, June 25, 1883 at the age of 67.^[955]

The following obituary appeared the day after Charles' death:

Mr. Charles Woodward, of the Adams Express Company, died at his residence in Avondale at 4 p.m. yesterday. He had been confined to his house for many months, and his release from suffering was not unexpected. Mr. Woodward was probably the oldest employe in time of service of the Adams Express Company in this city. He was their first agent here. He leaves a wife, three sons, two daughters and not an enemy in the world.^[956]

A death notice appeared in the same newspaper:

⁹⁵⁰ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1874 edition, 967; 1875 edition, 999; 1876 edition, 1035; 1877 edition, 1071; 1878 edition, 1029; 1879 edition, 1067; 1880 edition, 1133; 1881 edition, 1194; 1882 edition, 1302; 1883 edition, 1314.

⁹⁵¹ *United States 1880 Census*, Charles Woodward family, Ridgeway Avenue, Avondale, Hamilton County, Ohio, page 19, supervisor's district 3, enumeration district 96, lines 12–17, dwelling 133, family 144, reel 1023.

⁹⁵² "Alfred Gaither," *Expressman's Monthly* 5 (December 1880): 241.

⁹⁵³ Charles Woodward, "Early Days," 4. See also Stimson, *Express Business*, 329.

⁹⁵⁴ Charles Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, 30 June 1883, Hamilton County Probate Court, Wills, 33:109–111; via "Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786–1998," Ancestry.com.

⁹⁵⁵ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 186.

⁹⁵⁶ "Death of Charles Woodward," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 26 June 1883, 4. See also "Haps and Hazards," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 26 June 1883, 1. See also "Death of Charles Woodward," *Evansville [Indiana] Journal*, 27 June 1883, 2.

Woodward—At his home, in Avondale, at 4:40 P.M., Monday, June 25th, Charles Woodward, in his 68th year. Due notice of the funeral will be given.^[957]

The cause of death was “Dropsy.” J. P. Epply & Company served as the undertaker. Interment took place at 4 p.m. on 27 June in section 30, lot 97, of Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati. The cemetery was paid \$4.50 for digging the grave.^[958] Charles’ will was probated on 30 June.^[959]

Charles’ wife Elizabeth Allen died 30 May 1890.^[960] Their gravestone in Spring Grove Cemetery carries the following inscription:

Charles Woodward, Born at Wethersfield, Conn. Apr. 17, 1816, Died June 25, 1883.
His Wife Elizabeth A. Lynde, Born Jan. 9, 1817, Died May 30, 1890^[961]

Children of Charles and Elizabeth Allen (Lynde) Woodward.^[962]

- i. MARY⁸ GILLETTE WOODWARD, born 18 March 1839; died 25 June 1922. Mary’s aunt Urania described her in an 1849 letter when Mary was age ten: “she has regular lessons out of school and a composition (imagine it if you please) every fortnight. She applies herself very well to her lessons I believe it is making not rapid but sure progress. She has improved greatly in spelling and is quite interested in her arithmetic. She now sits by me doing a sum in long division. She has progressed more rapidly with her studies since she went to the High school tho’ in some respects I was sorry for the change. The large number of scholars brings her a very extensive acquaintances which cannot be altogether such as one would choose for a child as easily influenced by those around her as she is. She sometimes thinks me very strict that I curtail her circle so much, but she will yet see, I trust, that it is for her good alone. She has grown tall this winter, and her mother need not be worried for fear of her shape—it will not be *squabby* as she seemed to fear. We are busy now fitting her clothes for summer as she has not a thing she wore last summer that she can wear again.” Mary herself wrote her mother at the same time: “I am very well and go to school every day. I have made a dress for Mary, the large doll, and am making another for her.”^[963]
- ii. SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, born 27 July 1841; died 15 August 1843.

⁹⁵⁷ “Deaths,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 26 June 1883, 5.

⁹⁵⁸ Spring Grove Cemetery Records, Charles Woodward burial record, card 38701.

⁹⁵⁹ Charles Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, 30 June 1883, Hamilton County Probate Court, Wills, 33:109–111; via “Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786–1998,” Ancestry.com.

⁹⁶⁰ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 186.

⁹⁶¹ Find A Grave, Charles Woodward gravestone photograph, Patrick Nelson, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio, 18 January 2015, Find A Grave Memorial 79076894, Auto Graver, 21 October 2011.

⁹⁶² Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 186, 211–213.

⁹⁶³ Urania Woodward Letter 1849, [1], [2]. Mary Gillette Woodward to Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 14 April [1849], [1], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

- iii. CHARLES STANLEY WOODWARD,^[964] born 6 May 1843; married CAROLINE (CARRIE) AMELIA BAILEY.^[965] Charles' aunt Urania described him in an 1849 letter when he was about to turn six: "Charley is indeed so fat he can hardly run. He goes with me every day to the garden and I hope he will work off some of his fat or he will in time be a Lumbert. Father has given him a wheelbarrow and he follows me about with it carrying off rubbish from the garden and the plants as I wish to move them about. He wishes me to tell you that this morning he has carried in it five loads of sticks and grass and two of turf—thus he feels himself quite useful. He reads and spells every day, can read any story that he can understand without help, and can add numbers quite readily," Urania wrote. "His greatest desire now is to possess a baby, but having become somewhat of a Yankee he wished to make a good bargain—he has had a colored baby offered him for thirty cents which he thinks high and our clergyman, Mr. Ellis, offered him his for fifty cents and tho' he prefers a white one he hardly thinks it worth the difference as sixty cents is all he has—he thinks you would be willing to sell sissy for his bright quarter of a dollar and if so he wishes you to send her on in the next letter."^[966] Twenty-four years later, in January 1873, Charles' grandmother mentioned his family in a letter: "Give Charlie and Carrie my congratulations on the birth of another *son*. May he live to be a comfort to them in their old age."^[967] Charles and Caroline's daughter Carrie Bell Woodward, born 1884, never married and lived in Bloomfield, New Jersey.
- 10 iv. HENRY LYNDE WOODWARD, born 8 July 1845; married MARTHA REYNOLDS THOMAS.
- v. URANIA BATTELL "SIS" WOODWARD, born 12 November 1847; died 28 January 1929. Henry Lynde's grandson recalled that Henry Lynde "had three unmarried sisters who lived on Bond Hill in Cincinnati until one named Mary died. There was Aunt Sis [Urania] and Aunt Kitty—Katherine. Kitty was the last one left. She lived with us a short time before she died."^[968]
- vi. KATHERINE TODD "KATE" OR "KITTY" WOODWARD, born 12 May 1850; died 9 April 1929.
- vii. WILLIAM LYNDE WOODWARD, born 13 January 1853; married CLARA KAYLOR.^[969]
- viii. EDWIN PORTER WOODWARD, born 13 April 1855; died 24 September 1859.

⁹⁶⁴ Charles' middle name is supplied by Lynde family charts, author unknown, "Lynde," circa 1936 to 1955, original housed in family archive curated by the author. These are undocumented charts of the Lynde line given by Morton Powell Woodward to Vernon Powell Woodward and Hobson Woodward, circa 1985, and attributed by Morton to a genealogist associated with Morton's father and Vernon's grandfather, George Stedman Woodward.

⁹⁶⁵ Caroline Amelia Bailey's first and middle name are given in *Lundberg Family Charts*, family unit chart 6-17.

⁹⁶⁶ Urania Woodward Letter 1849, [2], [3].

⁹⁶⁷ Maria Woodward Letter 1873, [2].

⁹⁶⁸ Morton Woodward Interview.

⁹⁶⁹ "Marriage Licenses," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Daily Star*, 29 August 1878, 1.

Henry Lynde Woodward

1845–1906

Indianapolis, Indiana

Madison, Indiana

Cincinnati, Ohio

Mount Auburn, Ohio

Walnut Hills, Ohio

Glendale, Ohio

10. HENRY LYNDE⁸ WOODWARD (*Charles⁷, Samuel Bayard⁶, Samuel⁵, Israel⁴, John Jr.³, John Sr.², Henry¹, John^A, Robert^B*) was born on 8 July 1845 in Indianapolis, Indiana.^[970] He died on 9 December 1906 in Glendale, Ohio.^[971] Henry Lynde married MARTHA REYNOLDS THOMAS on 7 October 1873 in Cincinnati, Ohio.^[972] Martha Reynolds was born on 11 May 1850, the daughter of William Osborn Thomas and Jane Stuart (Porter) Thomas of Norwich, Connecticut.^[973]

Henry Lynde was age three years and nine months in April 1849 when he was mentioned in letters from his sister Mary and aunt Urania. At the time Henry Lynde was with his family in the west and his siblings Mary, age ten, and Charles Jr., age five, were staying with Urania in Northampton, Massachusetts. Charles Jr. set up a play telegraph system in the hopes of contacting his brother Henry in the west, Urania reported in a letter to the family, and he wanted to send his brother a gift:

He is an endless talker and has much to do with you all daily. He ties a string from my table to the door handle and on that telegraphs to you and learns your proceedings.

He has brought me one of his books to send to Henry, and seems to have no idea but what anything can be enclosed in a letter.^[974]

Mary alluded to her brother's telegraph system in another letter, suggesting that young Charles Jr. expected a message from their brother:

⁹⁷⁰ Spring Grove Cemetery Records, Henry L. Woodward burial record, card 74411. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 212.

⁹⁷¹ Spring Grove Cemetery Records, Henry L. Woodward burial record, card 74411. See also Henry Woodward Church Extracts, citing "Parish Registers," "Page 229." See also Henry Woodward Pension File, Dr. James F. Heady, affidavit providing medical evidence of death, 8 February 1907. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 212.

⁹⁷² Henry Lynde Woodward and Martha Reynolds Thomas, marriage license, Rev. Richard Gray, Protestant Episcopal Church, Hamilton County, Ohio, 7 October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, pension beneficiaries questionnaire, form 3-402, 20 March 1898.

⁹⁷³ Jane Stuart (Porter) Thomas, family history notes interleaved and pasted in C. H. V. Bogatzky, *Golden Treasury for the Children of God: Consisting of Select Texts of the Bible, with Practical Observations, in Prose and Verse, for Every Day of the Year* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), original housed in family archive curated by the author, notes inserted loose within the front cover and pasted at page 131.

⁹⁷⁴ Urania Woodward Letter 1849, [2], [3].

Charley wants I should tell Henry that he has not heard him call him yet.^[975]

On 1 June 1850 Henry Lynde was listed with his family in the United States census of Indianapolis. Henry Lynde Woodward was said to be age five (actually four, about to turn five), born in Indiana.^[976] Henry Lynde presumably moved with his family to Madison, Indiana, in 1850 when his father began working in the Adams Express office there, then returned to Indianapolis when his father was transferred there the next year.^[977]

Henry Lynde was age nine or ten in 1855 when he moved with his family to Cincinnati, Ohio, after his father Charles was transferred there by the Adams Express Company, though Henry Lynde later recalled the move taking place in 1853.^[978] On 1 June 1860 Henry Lynde appeared with his family in the United States census of Cincinnati. Henry Lynde Woodward, age fifteen (actually fourteen), was said to have “Attended School within the year.”^[979]

A biographical history of local citizens later described Henry Lynde’s early days in Cincinnati:

He came to this city with his parents in his boyhood days and attended the Hughes high school.^[980]

Hughes High School had opened in 1851 at the corner of Fifth and Mound Streets in downtown Cincinnati.^[981]

Henry Lynde graduated in the Hughes High School class of 1864.^[982] A first cousin in Worcester described Henry Lynde’s early life:

⁹⁷⁵ Mary Gillette Woodward to Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 14 April [1849], [1], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁹⁷⁶ United States 1850 Census, Charles Woodward family, Marion County, Indiana, page 230 (stamped; written number 459), lines 14–21, dwelling 484, family 496, reel 159.

⁹⁷⁷ H. L., “Early Recollections of an Old Expressman,” *Expressman’s Monthly* 1 (March 1876): 79. See also “Logan’s History of Indianapolis from 1818,” in M. V. B. Cowen, compiler, *Logansport City Directory, and Classified Business Directory of Indianapolis, Lafayette, and Surrounding Towns* (Indianapolis: Cowen & Protzman, 1869), 64. See also W. R. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Print, 1870), 96.

⁹⁷⁸ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 182. See also Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

⁹⁷⁹ Charles Woodward family, Cincinnati Ward 15, Hamilton County, Ohio, page 84, lines 4–12, dwelling 458, family 605, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, M653, 1438 reels, reel 977; via “1860 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry.com*.

⁹⁸⁰ Goss, *Queen City*, 3:586.

⁹⁸¹ Kevin Grace and Tom White, *Cincinnati Revealed: A Photographic Heritage of the Queen City*, Images of America series (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 109. The intersection of Fifth and Mound no longer exists, having been subsumed into an industrial area just west of Interstate 75.

⁹⁸² Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

He graduated from the Hughes High school of Cincinnati, Ohio and then enlisted as a corporal in the 137th. Ohio Vols., serving with the army of the Potomac until honorably discharged with his regt. at the end of the war.^[983]

Henry Lynde began his military service as a private in Company C of the 7th Battalion of the the Ohio National Guard. He was discharged from that unit on 17 June 1863, three weeks before his eighteenth birthday.^[984]

Eleven months later on 2 May 1864 Henry Lynde enlisted for 100 days in Company C of the 137th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, the designation given the federalized 7th Battalion of the the Ohio National Guard.^[985] A Charles S. Woodward who enlisted on the same day was probably Henry Lynde's brother.^[986] On 10 May Henry Lynde was mustered in at Camp Dennison near Cincinnati as a private, born Indianapolis, age eighteen, a clerk, hazel eyes, dark hair, dark complexion, six feet tall.^[987]

In a speech at Camp Dennison three days earlier, the governor of Ohio had announced that he would ask the United States secretary of war to exempt from draft all who enlisted for 100 days in the federalized Ohio National Guard.^[988] Most of those who enlisted in the 137th were merchants and artisans of Cincinnati:

The rank and file of this organization was composed wholly of citizens of Cincinnati, drawn from the mercantile and mechanic interests of the city—the mercantile largely predominating.^[989]

The 835 soldiers of the 137th Ohio Volunteer Infantry left Camp Dennison for Baltimore, Maryland, on 11 May 1864.^[990] Once in Baltimore, the regiment “was assigned to duty at Fort McHenry, in the harbor below Baltimore, with detachments at Forts Federal Hill, Marshall, and Carroll, and at the various head-quarters in Baltimore.”^[991]

The Republican national convention that renominated Abraham Lincoln for president took place in Baltimore in early June. While there the Ohio convention

⁹⁸³ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 212.

⁹⁸⁴ Henry L. Woodward, discharge certificate, private, Company C, 7th Battalion, Ohio National Guard, 17 June 1863, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁹⁸⁵ Henry Woodward Service Record. See also Veterans Schedules 1890 Census, Henry Lynde Woodward, “Glendale Village,” Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor’s district 3, enumeration district 195, sheet 2, line 20, dwelling 164, family 176, reel 66. See also Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences. For the regiment’s status, see Reid, *Ohio in War*, 2:666.

⁹⁸⁶ Henry Woodward Regiment History, 8:654–655.

⁹⁸⁷ Henry Woodward Service Record. See also Goss, *Queen City*, 3:586.

⁹⁸⁸ “Brough with a Bugle,” *Columbus Daily Ohio Statesman*, 7 May 1864, [2].

⁹⁸⁹ Reid, *Ohio in War*, 2:666.

⁹⁹⁰ “The 92d, 137th,” *Columbus Daily Ohio Statesman*, 14 May 1864, [2]. For the number of soldiers in the regiment, see Henry Woodward Regiment History, 8:651–662.

⁹⁹¹ Reid, *Ohio in War*, 2:666. Fort McHenry on a harbor peninsula south of Baltimore is now a national monument operated by the National Park Service. The defense of the fort in September 1814 inspired Francis Scott Key to write “The Star-Spangled Banner.” During the Civil War the fort was used as a prison camp, with a prison population ranging from 6,957 in July 1863 to four in September 1865. See National Park Service, “History of Fort McHenry” and “The Baltimore Bastille,” in “National Park Service: Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine,” NPS.gov.

delegation hosted a picnic for the soldiers of the 137th that featured music by a Cincinnati brass band that was apparently in the city to perform at the convention:

The delegation from Ohio to the Union Republican National Convention yesterday afternoon gave an entertainment to the 137th Ohio regiment, now stationed at Fort McHenry. Early in the afternoon the regiment, commanded by Col. L. N. Harris, Lt. Col. George M. Finch, and Major George Vandergrift, made a dress parade, accompanied by Mentor's celebrated Cincinnati brass band. Marching from the Fort, it proceeded down Baltimore street to the armory of the City Guards, at the corner of Baltimore and Gay streets, in which was spread a cold collation, which was partaken of by the entire regiment, all intoxicating liquors being rigidly excluded. The collation was prepared by Mr. Joseph Rutherford, in his best style, and was apparently much relished by the regiment. Speeches were made and songs sung, the band performing during the intervals. After the full enjoyment of the occasion the line was reformed, and the 137th marched back to its quarters at the Fort.^[992]

On 30 June 1864 Henry Lynde was listed as promoted to the rank of corporal.^[993] Seventy-seven corporals were selected from the regiment's ranks. Eleven of those, including Henry Lynde, were age eighteen or younger.^[994] The entire regiment moved to Fort Marshall in Baltimore on 1 August and remained there for two weeks.^[995] The troops then returned to Ohio by rail. Three soldiers died of illness during the time in Maryland. Two more died in a railroad accident on 16 August at New Cumberland, West Virginia, as they rode on the roof or hung from the side of a train car:

Its losses were but five men, all told, three of whom died of disease; the other two were killed on the way home by striking a bridge through which the train was passing.^[996]

On 19 August Henry Lynde was mustered out and discharged after an enlistment of 110 days, having been provided clothing valued at \$11.13.^[997] Henry Lynde was a member of the armed services for four more months until his formal discharge on 15 December 1864.^[998] Sometime after leaving military service, Henry Lynde served as a volunteer in Company A of the Cincinnati Zouave Battalion, an independent ceremonial organization.^[999]

⁹⁹² "Local Matters," *Baltimore Sun*, 7 June 1864, [1].

⁹⁹³ Henry Woodward Service Record.

⁹⁹⁴ Henry Woodward Regiment History, 8:651–662.

⁹⁹⁵ Fort Marshall stood on a hill southeast of Baltimore in what is now the city's Highlandtown neighborhood. See Mary K. Tilghman, *Insiders' Guide to Baltimore*, fifth edition (Guilford, Connecticut: Insiders' Guide, 2008), 73.

⁹⁹⁶ Reid, *Ohio in War*, 2:666. For the location and date of the accident, see Henry Woodward Regiment History, 8:657, 658.

⁹⁹⁷ Henry Woodward Service Record. See also Veterans Schedules 1890 Census, Henry Lynde Woodward, "Glendale Village," Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor's district 3, enumeration district 195, sheet 2, line 20, dwelling 164, family 176, reel 66.

⁹⁹⁸ Henry L. Woodward, discharge certificate, corporal, Company C, 137th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, 15 December 1864, original housed in family archive curated by the author.

⁹⁹⁹ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, affidavit, 24 September 1891.

After leaving military service, Henry Lynde went into business in Cincinnati, according to his first cousin:

He was for a short time in the wholesale grocery business^[1000]

Henry Lynde was still eighteen when he began work for Wells, Titus & Sterrett, a wholesale grocery firm located at 33 Main Street in Cincinnati. City directories from 1864 to 1867 listed his occupation as “clk” and his work address as 33 Main Street. Henry Lynde lived with his parents, his address listed the first three years as 329 Elm Street and the last as “s[outh]. w[est]. c[orner]. Court and Elm.”^[1001]

Henry Lynde was listed as a clerk without a stated employer in the 1868 Cincinnati directory. That year he moved with his parents and siblings to their new home at 8 Hopkins Street. In 1869 he continued to reside there, being listed as a clerk at the Hamilton County Insurance Company.^[1002]

In July 1869 Henry Lynde vacationed in the village of Put-in-Bay on South Bass Island in Lake Erie, fifteen miles off Sandusky, Ohio. While there on 25 July the twenty-four-year-old wrote his mother a letter on the stationery of the Put-in-Bay House, West and Elder proprietors, a hotel that offered “Hunting, Fishing, Boating, Lake Bathing, Island Grapes and Wine, Pure Bracing Air, &c.”:

This being Sunday it is the first opportunity I have had to write as I have been constantly on the go ever since I arrived. I had rather a lonely ride all by myself until I reached Sandusky. There I met a Mr. Parker from Cinti. who was going out to the Island so we went together to the Steam Boat landing but found both boats had gone out with an excursion party and we had to come over on a little tug but as there was quite a large party on board we had a very pleasant trip.

On our way we saw first Johnstons Island the noted prison during the war^[1003] then numerous other small islands then after an hour's ride we landed at Kellys Island and I saw several Cinti. folks. It looks like a very pretty place. After leaving there we proceeded about five miles farther on and stopped at Middle Bass Island to land some folks and then crossed the Bay to South Bass or Put-in Bay Island, as this place is called. It is the finest of the many islands and affords every kind of amusement. Our

¹⁰⁰⁰ Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 212. See also Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

¹⁰⁰¹ Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1864 edition, 383; 1865 edition, 398; 1866 edition, 437; 1867 edition 496. No document explicitly places Henry Lynde as an employee of Wells, Titus & Sterrett; he was said to be in the grocery business, however, and his listed work address matches that of the firm. See Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1865 edition, 420.

¹⁰⁰² Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1868 edition, 548; 1869 edition, 605.

¹⁰⁰³ From April 1862 to September 1865 approximately 10,000 Confederate soldiers passed through the Union prison camp on Johnson's Island. In January 1864 the camp reached its highest population of 3,224, all housed on forty cleared acres. Today a causeway connects the island to the mainland. See Johnson's Island Preservation Society, “Military Prison on Johnson's Island” and “Island History, Overview,” JohnsonsIsland.org.

hotel is a very large one and situated so that we have very fine views. From the cupola we can see all the Islands in the lake land also the lake itself for miles and miles.^[1004]

There are a great many folks from our city here. Mrs. Starbuck, Fannie, Ella & Clara are here and very generously invited me to take a seat at their table which I occupy altogether. Frank and his wife were here but went over to Detroit Friday evening and will be back tomorrow.^[1005] I have a skiff for my own use which I rent by the week and am out on the bay most all time, either fishing or rowing and I think it will do me good. One of the finest places in the vicinity is the noted Summer residence of Jay Cooke Esq. It is built on an island called Gibraltar which is almost a solid rock and stands out from our island about a quarter of a mile. He has a beautiful stone mansion built on it and everything in fine style. On the side facing us he has a large boat house and some six or seven sail boats besides row boats without end. Each of his children have a light little row boat bearing her name and while here they are almost constantly on the water. Mrs. McMann the housekeeper has a beautiful daughter and day before yesterday she sent word over for all the young folks to come over and a large party of us went and she took great pains to make us enjoy ourselves showing us around and inviting us to come again as often as we could.^[1006] Fannie, Clara, Ed Smith and myself were out fishing all day yesterday and caught fish enough for supper for our table. You would be surprised to see those girls now, especially Fannie. She could beat half the men on the island in a race. It seems to me she never tires out, but as fate will have it

¹⁰⁰⁴ The Put-in-Bay House commenced operations in 1864. The hotel was expanded in the years that followed and had reached a capacity of eight hundred guests when, nine years after Henry Lynde's visit, it was destroyed by fire on 31 August 1878. See W. W. Williams, *History of the Fire Lands, Comprising Huron and Erie Counties, Ohio* (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Leader Printing Company, 1879), 521.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Nancy Jane Webster Starbuck, forty-four, was the wife of Cincinnati *Times* publisher Calvin W. Starbuck. The couple had nine children between the ages of one and twenty-three. Their eldest daughters were Clara Belle Starbuck, twenty-one; Fanny Whipple Starbuck, nineteen; and Ella Meader Starbuck, seventeen. Their eldest son, Frank Washburn Starbuck, twenty-three, had recently married Carrie Jennette Golden. See United States 1870 Census, Calvin W. Starbuck family, Cincinnati "N 1/2" Ward 15, Hamilton County, Ohio, page 17, lines 9–23, dwelling 89, family 88, reel 1214. See also Eliza Starbuck Barney, Eliza Starbuck Barney Genealogical Record Books, Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, Massachusetts; via Nantucket Historical Association, "Barney Genealogical Record," NantucketHistoricalAssociation.net, "person pages" 1240, 1245, entries for Calvin W. Starbuck, Frank Washburn Starbuck.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Philadelphia banker Jay Cooke, a native of Sandusky, Ohio, and his wife Dorothea Elizabeth Allen Cooke, purchased Gibraltar Island in 1864 and built the fifteen-room Cooke Castle. In July 1869 their surviving children were Jay Cooke Jr. (born 1845), Laura E. Cooke (born 1849), Sarah E. Cooke (born 1852), and Henry E. Cooke (born 1857). The family's housekeeper was widow Mary Ann Caruthers Pittenger McMeens (1821–1893) whose adopted daughter and niece was Sarah M. Stem (1850–1941). The building and island are now home to Stone Laboratory, a freshwater biological field station of Ohio State University. See Alicia Watts Hosmer, et al., "Gibraltar: A Summer Home Filled with Memories" and "Genealogy," in "Jay Cooke Family Website," JayCookeFamily.com. See also Ohio State University, "Cooke Castle: Stone Lab's Historic Landmark," OhioSeaGrant.OSU.edu. See also Find A Grave, Ann Caruthers Pittenger McMeens gravestone photograph, Kenneth Gilbert, Oakland Cemetery, Sandusky, Ohio, 29 June 2015, Find A Grave Memorial 114083509, Marianne Dial Deadmon, 20 July 2013. See also Find A Grave, Sarah M. Stem gravestone photograph, Kenneth Gilbert, Oakland Cemetery, Sandusky, Ohio, 23 June 2015, Find A Grave Memorial 114084038, Marianne Dial Deadmon, 20 July 2013. See also Mary Ann C. McMeens probate record, Seneca County, Ohio, 10 November 1893, Seneca County Probate Court, Wills, 8:368–369; via "Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786–1998," Ancestry.com.

she is layed up today with a swollen face for being out last evening without a shawl over her shoulders. Most everyone has gone to church this morning and it seems deserted about the house. There is a very fine little church on the island, Episcopalian I believe.^[1007]

In 1870 Henry Lynde was identified as an assistant secretary of the Cincinnati Equitable Insurance Company. He moved out of his parents' home to live on his own in 1870, residing that year at 178 West 4th Street in Cincinnati. The change was apparently simultaneous with the move of his parents to the suburb of Avondale.^[1008]

Henry Lynde was recorded in the United States census of 1870 as of 1 June of that year, and though the census does not supply his address he was presumably counted at the West 4th Street location. The census listed Henry Woodward, age twenty-nine (actually twenty-four), "Agt for Life Ins Co.," born Ohio, living in a dwelling with four other young men: Paul Gotsch, twenty-two, "Watch Maker, Jour[neyman]," born Prussia; Charles Ross, thirty-two, "Artist," born Ohio; Richard Smith, twenty, "Jour Printer," born Ohio; and Adolphus White, twenty-five, "Clk in Store," born Ohio.^[1009]

Henry Lynde remained at the Cincinnati Equitable Insurance offices at 169 Race Street and continued to live at 178 West 4th Street in 1871 and 1872.^[1010] In early 1872 he traveled by train to New York City, according to a letter he wrote to his mother on 5 February:

I arrived here on Saturday last all safe and sound after a very long and tiresome ride of about 41 hours. Owing to the severe snow storms we missed our connections and we consequently detained all together about seven hours. But as Mr. Trott^[1011] had a

¹⁰⁰⁷ Henry Lynde Woodward to Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 25 July 1869, [1]–[5], original housed in family archive curated by the author. St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Put-in-Bay opened in 1865. A month before Henry Lynde's visit the congregation voted to withdraw from the Episcopal Church and become affiliated with the Congregational Church, a separation that lasted until 1912 when the congregation returned to the Episcopal denomination. See St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Put-in-Bay, South Bass Island, Ohio, "Early History, Pre-1912," StPaulPiB.com.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1868 edition, 548; 1869 edition, 605; 1870 edition, 658.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *United States 1870 Census*, Paul Gotsch "family," Cincinnati "14th Ward," Hamilton County, Ohio, page 128, lines 4–8, dwelling 701, family 812, reel 1214.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1871 edition, 740; 1872 edition, 924.

¹⁰¹¹ "Mr. Trott" was probably William B. Trott, who in 1870 was listed in the United States census as a twenty-five-year-old bookkeeper and native of Connecticut. Trott was listed in the Cincinnati household of George Stedman, a family that also included Stedman's adopted daughter Martha Reynolds Thomas, who would become Henry Lynde's wife a year after his visit to New York City. George Stedman's second wife was Jane Trott of New London, Connecticut, a relative of William B. Trott. See *United States 1870 Census*, George F. Stedman family, Cincinnati "North one-half of 6th Ward," Hamilton County, Ohio, page 60, lines 20–29, dwelling 261, family 454, reel 1210. See also *United States 1850 Census*, John P. Trott family, New London, New London County, Connecticut, page 175 (verso) (stamped; written number 350), lines 1–10, dwelling 1025, family 1518, reel 49. See also William B. Trott funeral record, 10 March 1934, Funeral Records, 1852–1937, Wiltsee Funeral Home, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Schaefer-Busby Funeral Home, Cincinnati, Ohio; via Wright State University microfilm publication, *Funeral Records, 1852–1937*, 12 reels, reel 1535665; via "Ohio, Death and Burials, 1854–1997," FamilySearch.org. See also *Hobson Woodward, "Connecticut Family,"* 128–130.

section in one of the Silver Palace Sleeping coaches^[1012] we passed the time very pleasantly. When we arrived here we found a very fierce storm raging and the streets blockaded with the snow and the walking was probably a little worse than anything you could imagine.

We found Mr. Steadman^[1013] waiting to see us and we are all stopping at the Hoffman House. It is an elegant place and situation on the opposite side of 24th Street to the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The both face on Broadway at the point where it is crossed by Fifth Avenue and is called Madison Square. Consequently we are in the most *aristocratic* part of the city. Madison Square is the handsomest part of New York in my opinion. Our hotel is a white marble front is conducted on the *Le Carte* plan, charging for your room and your meals you pay for as you get them. It is more expensive than any other House in the city if you are alone but being two or three together is comes much cheaper.^[1014]

We attended the Grand Opera House on Saturday evening to hear a concert given by the Philharmonic Society. It is an orchestra society and play really much better than Thomas' Orchestra. There are one hundred performers and the music was such as I never expected to hear. We were very lucky in getting here. As they only give a concert about once every two months it is not necessary to say the house was crowded.^[1015]

¹⁰¹² Silver Palace sleeping cars featured white metallic fittings, maple and walnut woodwork, red silk plush seats, and fine carpets. Sleeping berths accommodated forty-six riders in each car. See Anthony J. Bianculli, *Trains and Technology: The American Railroad in the Nineteenth Century*, four volumes (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2001–2003), 2:56.

¹⁰¹³ "Mr. Steadman" (later in the same letter "Mr. Stedman") was probably Martha Reynolds Thomas' adoptive brother, Thomas Stedman, who would later reside in New York City. See Hobson Woodward, "Connecticut Family," 131.

¹⁰¹⁴ The Hoffman House at the corner of Broadway and 24th Street offered "Bachelor's rooms" for \$2 per night. The Hoffman advertised that it was "Said by all Travelers to be the Best Hotel in the World." See J. S. Redfield, *Redfield's Traveler's Guide to the City of New York* (New York: J. S. Redfield, 1871), 21. See also *New York Tribune*, *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register* (New York: Tribune Association, 1874), 140.

¹⁰¹⁵ The Philharmonic Society advertised that its concert at the Academy of Music at 8 p.m. on 3 February 1872, the night Henry Lynde attended, would feature soprano Henriette Corradi, violinist P. Sarasate, and a "Grand Orchestra of 100 Performers." The vocalist was Henriette S. Corradi, who won a gold medal at the Paris Conservatoire and appeared in operas in Milan, Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Brussels. A biography listed it as her final notable appearance: "Mlle. Carradi also sang in the Philharmonic Concerts with Sarasate." In later years Corradi taught privately as "one of New York's most prominent vocal instructors." See "Professional Notes," *The Looker-On* 2 (January 1896): 400. The violinist was Pablo Martin Melitón de Sarasate y Navascués (1844–1908), a former child prodigy who began touring internationally in 1861 and is generally considered to be Spain's greatest violinist. See Zdenko Silvela, *A New History of Violin Playing: The Vibrato and Lambert Massart's Revolutionary Discovery* ([Boca Raton, Florida]: Universal Publishers, Inc., 2001), 197–198. The performance was reviewed in the *New York Herald* two days later: "The Philharmonic Society already begins to show unmistakable signs of decadence. On Saturday night we made a calculation of the empty seats at the Academy of Music with the following result:—120 seats in the parquette, 133 orchestra stalls, twenty-two balcony boxes and eight proscenium boxes. Again, we find one hundred names on the programme as representing the orchestra present, whereas by actual count there were only eighty-four. . . . Señor Sarasate proved himself one of the very best violinists that ever visited this country. The concerto he selected for this occasion is a work of very high order of merit and one that will rank beside Mendelssohn's celebrated work for the same instrument. Mlle. Corradi revealed the fact that she possessed a hard, well

Yesterday Sunday we made quite a trip over the city visiting different churches in the morning we attended Old Trinity to hear the Choral Choir consisting of 30 little boys who have elegant voices and chant almost the entire service.^[1016] We left early and stopped in at St. Pauls. In the afternoon we went to an elegant church call the Heavenly Rest built by a widow lady in memory of her husband. From there we went to Grace Church merely to hear the choir.^[1017] In the evening we attended St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, a new church on Fifth Avenue near 54th Street. It is said to be the handsomest church in America, and it is most elegant. There they have an organ at each side of the church and two choirs.^[1018] We next looked into Christs Church and finally reached the Universalist Church in time to hear the sermon of the celebrated Dr. Chapin of this City.^[1019] When you consider that the distance from the two most extreme of these is about five miles then you may conclude that we had rather a busy day.

This morning Mr. Trott and I took the street cars for Central Park and there took a fine two horse sleigh and as the sleighing was excellent we drove through the park in

worn, unsympathetic voice, which was particularly unpleasant in the aria from 'The Creation.' The Philharmonic Society seems to have the peculiar facility of selecting the worst vocalists to be found in New York for their concerts. The plan is a cheap one for the particular occasion, but we doubt very much if in the long run it will not prove very expensive." See "Philharmonic Society," advertisement, New York *Herald*, 3 February 1872, 2. See also "Music and the Drama," New York *Herald*, 5 February 1872, 5.

¹⁰¹⁶ Since 1698 Trinity Church has operated at what is now the intersection of Broadway and Wall Street. The building that Henry Lynde visited was completed in 1846 and still stands. At the time of his visit the 280-foot spire was the tallest structure in New York. An 1872 travel guide described the choir: "Trinity has long been famous for its excellent music. The choir consists of men and boys, who are trained with great care by the musical director. The service is very beautiful and impressive, and is thoroughly in keeping with the grand and cathedral-like edifice in which it is conducted. The two organs, the voices of the choristers, and often the chime of bells, all combine to send a flood of melody rolling through the beautiful arches such as is never heard elsewhere in the city." See Dunlap, *Houses of Worship*, 276–277. See also James D. McCabe, *Lights and Shadows of New York Life* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1872), 565–566.

¹⁰¹⁷ St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Church at Broadway and Fulton Street was completed in 1766 and today is the oldest extant church building in Manhattan. The Church of the Heavenly Rest, since moved to another location, was completed in 1871 on Fifth Avenue and featured a narrow street entrance that led to an expansive structure set behind other buildings on the block. Grace Church at Broadway and East 10th Street was completed in 1846 and features a white marble spire. See Dunlap, *Houses of Worship*, 88–89, 96–97, 279–280.

¹⁰¹⁸ The St. Thomas Church building with a 260-foot spire that Henry Lynde visited at Fifth Avenue and West 53rd Street was completed in 1870 and burned in 1905. The organs he mentioned were built by Thomas S. Hall in 1852 and 1870. The 1870 instrument was one of the first to employ electric pedal action. See Dunlap, *Houses of Worship*, 246–247. See also Douglas E. Bush and Richard Kassel, editors, *The Organ: An Encyclopedia*, Encyclopedia of Keyboard Instruments 3 (New York: Routledge, 2006), 238.

¹⁰¹⁹ Christ Church stood on East 35th Street from 1859 to 1890. The Fourth Universalist Society worshipped on Fifth Avenue from 1866 to 1898. Edwin Hubbell Chapin had been pastor since 1848: "Dr. Chapin was a most effective and gifted speaker, and exerted a powerful influence for good." See Dunlap, *Houses of Worship*, 42–43, 81. See also H. T. Peck, Selim H. Peabody, Charles F. Richardson, editors, *The International Cyclopaedia: A Compendium of Human Knowledge*, 15 volumes, revised edition (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1900), 3:677.

the style worthy of millionaires and all for two dollars.^[1020] We saw all parts of the park and wound up in the Zoological Garden belonging there and saw the finest collection of Wild Animals Birds etc. that I ever heard of.^[1021] Mr. Trott left at noon for New London for a short visit and I took a walk down Broadway from twenty seventh street to the Battery and Castle Garden about three miles. I passed away an hour watching vessels come in and go out and looked through Castle Garden, the landing for all emigrants.^[1022]

This evening Mr. Stedman and I are to hear Edwin Booth in Brutus at his own theater^[1023] and Tomorrow evening we attend the Fifth Avenue to see "Divorce" the new sensational play.^[1024] On Wednesday I expect to leave here and go to Washington City

¹⁰²⁰ The New York *Herald* reported excellent sleighing on the day that Henry Lynde and Mr. Trott rode through Central Park: "The snow storm of Saturday and yesterday afforded lovers of sleighing a splendid opportunity for indulging in the favorite pastime, and, judging from the number of sleighs of all kinds which crowded the streets, the lanes and the parks, it was eagerly seized upon. . . . Central Park, as usual, was the great centre of attraction. . . . It was a beautiful picture to see the sleighs dash along the winding roads in the Park, which were thickly covered with a mantle of snow; to watch the gay costumes, the bright eyes and the flushed and sparkling features of the hundreds of charming girls who appeared for a moment and then dashed swiftly by, like beings of another sphere, their merry voices and joyous laughter sounding over the tinkling of the bells from the elegant vehicles which bore them gayly along. It is no wonder that the advent of snow is hailed with such delight by everyone, young and old." See "The Sleighing Carnival: Fun and Frolic in Central Park," New York *Herald*, 5 February 1872, 8.

¹⁰²¹ A contemporary guidebook said the Central Park zoo was actually quite small: "Here, during the winter months, are housed the few animals which it is intended shall form the nucleus of a future Zoological Garden." See D. Appleton & Company, *Appletons' Hand-book of American Travel: Northern and Eastern Tour* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1872), 22.

¹⁰²² Castle Garden at the tip of Manhattan served as New York's immigrant processing center when Henry Lynde visited. In 1869 more than a quarter million immigrants passed through the center. Vessels first stopped at a quarantine center where the sick were removed. The rest were landed by barge at Castle Garden where they were examined by officials on the pier. "After this examination is passed," a contemporary guidebook said, "the immigrants are conducted to the Rotunda, a large roofed circular space in the centre of the Depot, with separate compartments for the different nationalities. Here the name, nationality, former place of residence, and intended destination of each, with other particulars, are taken down." Railroad agents, a telegraph office, a letter-writing department, rooming house operators, and a labor bureau were available to arriving immigrants. See J. F. Richmond, *New York and Its Institutions, 1609-1873* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1872), 552-554.

¹⁰²³ "Julius Caesar" was in its seventh week at Booth's Theatre and featured the brother of Lincoln assassin John Wilkes Booth in the lead role. The play featured Edwin Booth as Brutus, Lawrence Barrett as Cassius, F. C. Bangs as Marc Anthony, D. W. Waller as Julius Caesar, and Bella Pateman as Portia. The New York *Herald* reviewed the production earlier in its run: "Mr. Booth as Brutus was certainly not without much of the dignity that we look for in the character of that pure friend of liberty; but this actor seems unable to free himself from a tricky staginess which will force itself forward at the most unseasonable moments, when we feel least inclined to pardon any deviation from a severe and dignified naturalness." See "Booth's Theatre," advertisement, New York *Herald*, 6 February 1872, 2. See also "Music and the Drama," New York *Herald*, 26 December 1871, 5.

¹⁰²⁴ Augustin Daly's play "Divorce" opened in September at the Fifth Avenue Theatre and continued its run in early 1872. The story features a mother and daughters named Fanny and Louise. The marriages of the daughters are threatened by "a certain handsome, indolent, idle captain, a West Point graduate, poor in pocket, but an exquisite of the first water, whose name is Captain Lynde." Fanny's husband, Alfred Adrianse, flees to Florida with the couple's young son. Fanny's mother contrives to retrieve the child by claiming that Alfred had psychiatric illness and succeeds in doing so with the help

and Baltimore^[1025] and Mr. Trott urges me to go to Charleston for a few days but I hardly think I do so. I am having a very gay time as you may imagine and I only wonder that my ideas could have been so contracted all my life, as I could never imagine the elegance of a place like this. But seeing is believing and now I can say I have seen the finest. I saw A. T. Stewart's new residence yesterday and I never could describe it. It is built of white marble and is a perfect palace. I also went through his store which occupies a whole block.^[1026]

In June of 1873, four months before Henry Lynde's marriage to Martha Reynolds Thomas, his address was listed in the Cincinnati directory as the northwest corner of 4th Street and Broadway, which may have been another way of describing the 178 West 4th Street address where he resided the previous two years.^[1027] Also in 1873 just prior to his marriage, Henry Lynde began a new job with the private banking firm of Gilmore, Dunlap & Company at 108 West 4th Street.^[1028] More than two decades later the author of an obituary of the owner of the company, James Gilmore, mistakenly claimed that Henry's employment at the company began years earlier: "At the breaking out of the war four of Mr. Gilmore's clerks, Benjamin E. Hopkins, Charles Woodward, Henry Woodward and R. E. Dunlap, volunteered for the 100 days' service, and Mr. Gilmore paid each man's salary until they all returned."^[1029]

of a "mad-house doctor." Alfred convinces the doctor that he is not ill and visits his wife to give up the child and say farewell, but the couple realizes they are in love and reunite. The action takes place against a comic subplot involving Louise, who squabbles with her husband and calls on a divorce lawyer. When that couple also reconciles, they are surprised to learn that a court has already declared them officially divorced and "any further marital endearments are immoral." The play was reviewed after its opening: "The season may thus be said to have begun with the realization of every expectation of the public and every hope of the manager with a crowded house, a brilliant audience, a play of absorbing interest, a company of unequalled merit and accessories of the highest style of art. The play 'Divorce' will, it is needless to say, be performed every evening and for the Saturday matinée 'until further notice.'" See "Amusements," New York *Herald*, 6 September 1871, 7.

¹⁰²⁵ Henry Lynde served as a Union soldier in Baltimore in the summer of 1864, for which see above.

¹⁰²⁶ Henry Lynde Woodward to Elizabeth Allen Lynde Woodward, 5 February 1872, [1]–[6], original housed in family archive curated by the author. Alexander Turney Stewart came to New York from County Antrim, Ireland, and opened an Irish lace store in 1823. By 1846 he had expanded his business to become what is considered the world's first department store. In 1862 he moved the store to a specially designed eight-story emporium that occupied a full block bordered by 9th and 10th streets, Broadway, and Fourth Avenue. Stewart was considered the third richest person in the United States and in 1869 completed construction of a \$1 million white marble mansion at the corner of 34th Street and Fifth Avenue. See Wayne Craven, *Gilded Mansions: Grand Architecture and High Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), 67–77.

¹⁰²⁷ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1871 edition, 740; 1872 edition, 924; 1873 edition, 901.

¹⁰²⁸ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1873 edition, 901; 1878 edition, 1029. Only Henry Lynde's work address is shown in 1873, but his 1878 entry includes the same address and the name Gilmore & Company. That the name of the firm was Gilmore, Dunlap, & Company during Henry Lynde's tenure is shown in Goss, *Queen City*, 2:198. Henry Lynde spent the next thirty-two years in the Cincinnati banking industry, a tumultuous time of boom and bust cycles in which many firms were created, merged, and failed. See Goss, *Queen City*, 2:196–207. See also Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 212.

¹⁰²⁹ "Regret at Banker Gilmore's Death," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 14 July 1897, 10. Henry himself stated that he began working at Gilmore, Dunlap, & Company after the war was over. See *Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences*.

Henry Lynde and Martha Reynolds Thomas were married by Rev. Richard Gray in Cincinnati on 7 October 1873.^[1030] The wedding took place nineteen days after the failure of a New York bank precipitated the Panic of 1873, plunging the nation into a two-year depression.^[1031] Henry Lynde worked at Gilmore, Dunlap & Company as a clerk for the next four years. During that time he and Martha Reynolds lived on Auburn Avenue in the suburb of Mount Auburn in 1874, and then in 1875 and 1876 at 22 1/2 Chestnut Street in Cincinnati.^[1032]

They may also have resided for a time on Central Avenue in Cincinnati, according to their grandson Morton Powell Woodward:

I do not know where Martha Thomas & Henry Lynde Woodward were married but they lived practically all their married life in Cincinnati & Glendale. He was a bank teller and later cashier. I know they lived on Central Ave in Cincinnati when my father was their only child.^[1033]

Probably in about 1874 or 1875, Henry Lynde, Martha, and their infant son George visited family on the East Coast. Sometime during the trip Martha and George remained in Connecticut while Henry Lynde visited relations on his side of the family in Massachusetts. A relative wrote about the visit in a letter:

a nice visit yesterday from Charles Woodward's son Henry. We all admired him much, his grace of manner, pleasant face, and kind cordial words. He had left his wife and baby in Norwich, and came only for the day. I pronounced him the handsomest Woodward I had seen. He promised next year to bring his wife and baby with him and make us a visit.^[1034]

On 6 January 1875 Henry Lynde was elected prelate of the Knights of Pythias, Crescent Lodge No. 42, in Cincinnati.^[1035]

Henry Lynde remained at Gilmore, Dunlap & Company in 1877 when it changed its name to Gilmore & Company, and he worked there for the next three years as a teller. Also in 1877 he and Martha Reynolds moved to June Street in the suburb of Walnut Hills, where they would remain for the next six years.^[1036]

¹⁰³⁰ Henry Lynde Woodward and Martha Reynolds Thomas, marriage license, Rev. Richard Gray, Protestant Episcopal Church, Hamilton County, Ohio, 7 October 1873, original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, pension beneficiaries questionnaire, form 3-402, 20 March 1898.

¹⁰³¹ Goss, Queen City, 2:197.

¹⁰³² Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1873 edition, 901; 1874 edition, 967; 1875 edition, 999; 1876 edition, 1035; 1878 edition, 1029.

¹⁰³³ Morton Powell Woodward to Vernon Powell Woodward, circa spring 1987, [2], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

¹⁰³⁴ Unknown correspondents, letter fragment, circa September 1874 to September 1875 (period during which Henry Lynde's first child was an infant), [1], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

¹⁰³⁵ "Local Brevities," Cincinnati [Ohio] Daily Star, 7 January 1875, 4.

¹⁰³⁶ Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1877 edition, 1071; 1878 edition, 1029; 1879 edition, 1067; 1880 edition, 1133; 1881 edition, 1194; 1882 edition, 1302. See also Goss, Queen City, 2:198.

Yet more reorganization occurred at Henry Lynde's company in the late 1870s. First in 1878 Gilmore & Company was acquired by the National Bank of Commerce, and then in 1879 the National Bank of Commerce merged with the Lafayette Bank to become the National Lafayette and Bank of Commerce. Through it all Henry Lynde continued to work at the same address, his title shifting from teller in 1879 to bookkeeper in 1880 to general bookkeeper in 1881.^[1037]

In the 1880 United States census Henry Lynde and Martha Reynolds were recorded on June Street in Cincinnati as of 1 June. The family included Henry Lynde, 36 (actually 34), "book Keeper"; Martha Reynolds, 30, "Keeping house"; and their sons: George S., 6; Harry, 4; and Clifford, 2. The household also included Anna Grady, age 19, "servant," born Ohio, parents born Ireland.^[1038]

In 1882 Henry Lynde moved to another banking firm, George Eustis & Company. A newspaper notice announced his affiliation with the firm:

Office of George Eustis & Co., Brokers. Cincinnati, March 1, 1882. The recognized representatives of this office are Henry L. Woodward, Andrew C. Conklin, Frank Ballmann.^[1039]

A German-language notice appeared later in the year in a Cincinnati German newspaper stating that Henry Lynde was among the brokers offering services at George Eustis & Company.^[1040] The company's offices were located at 75 West 3rd Street. In 1883 Henry Lynde and Martha Reynolds moved to another home, this one at 37 Bellevue Avenue in Mount Auburn. They would remain there two years, then move down the street to 6 Bellevue Avenue in 1885 and live there for one year.^[1041]

During a financial panic in August 1883 Henry Lynde and other employees at the Cincinnati office exchanged several letters with firm owner George Eustis while he was on vacation in Boothbay, Maine. Eustis wrote that he did not wish to cut his vacation short, then expressed apprehension when he was informed that to save the firm employees had pledged securities placed with the firm by clients as collateral without the clients' knowledge. In addition, Henry Lynde pledged personal funds to assist. A series of miscommunications and an apparent attempt by broker Frank Ballmann to curry favor culminated in a letter from Henry Lynde to George Eustis. Henry Lynde laid out his view of the situation, stating of the perceived machinations of his fellow employee, "This was the point at which the shoe pinched." The concern of Henry Lynde and his confidants at the firm was not directed at Eustis as had been alleged, he explained:

¹⁰³⁷ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1879 edition, 1067; 1880 edition, 1133; 1881 edition, 1194. See also *Goss, Queen City*, 2:198. See also *Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences*.

¹⁰³⁸ *United States 1880 Census*, Henry Lynde Woodward family, June Street, Cincinnati "Precinct A 2nd Ward," Hamilton County, Ohio, page 12, supervisor's district 3, enumeration district 203, lines 22–27, dwelling 83, family 88, reel 1030.

¹⁰³⁹ "Brokers," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 10 March 1882, 5.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "Office von Geo. Eustis & Co., Brokers," Cincinnati, Ohio, *Westliche Blatter*, 1 October 1882, 5.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1882 edition, 1302; 1883 edition, 1314; 1884 edition, 1496; 1885 edition, 1471.

We are not filled with suspicions nor are we troubled as to the safety of the money advanced, but only for the reputation of the firm, for honesty & square dealing, is what had troubled us, together with a very inconvenient lack of money, up to the time of the above disclosure. As to your coming home, I have felt all through, as though your being here might not be a necessity, still if it had reached the point, where we would be caught, your presence would be very desirable. For this reason I have not felt like interrupting your vacation if possible, but at the same time would have been better satisfied had you been here

The firm survived, apparently after Eustis sold personal real estate to cover the shortfall.^[1042]

Henry Lynde remained an employee of George Eustis & Company until 1 July 1884, according to a newspaper announcement:

Brokers Separate. The firm of George Eustis & Co. will not be so large by one member after July 1st as it is now. About that time Mr. H. L. Woodward, who has been connected with the firm for some years, will retire, and assume an honorable position elsewhere. Rumor says that he will be one of the valuable assistants in the new banking concern, the Fidelity Safe Deposit and Trust Company.^[1043]

Henry Lynde did indeed take a new job in 1885 as a teller with the Fidelity Safe Deposit & Trust Company.^[1044] That institution had been incorporated two years earlier and occupied the ground floor of the new St. Paul Building on East Fourth Street when it opened in 1884. The nine-story building was the tallest in the city at the time and attracted sightseers to its roof.^[1045]

In 1886 the Fidelity National Bank was founded and took over the St. Paul Building offices of the Fidelity Safe Deposit & Trust Company, and Henry Lynde began working for the new institution, first as a teller, then in 1887 as a “paying teller.” The year he began work at the Fidelity National Bank, Henry Lynde and Martha Reynolds made their last residential move, this time departing the city for the suburb of Glendale where they would remain the rest of their lives.^[1046] On 21 April 1886 Henry Lynde and Martha Reynolds transferred from the Church of Our Saviour in Cincinnati to

¹⁰⁴² Contemporary transcription of Henry Woodward to George Eustis, post 27 August 1883, [1]–[3], original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also George Eustis to George Eustis & Company, 2 August 1883, [1]–[2]; George Eustis to George Eustis & Company, 9 August 1883, [1]; George Eustis to Henry Woodward, post 13 August 1883, [1]; George Eustis to Andrew Conklin, 17 August 1883, [1]–[2]; contemporary transcription of George Eustis to George Eustis & Company, 27 August 1883, [1]–[4]; George Eustis to George Eustis & Company, 7 September 1883, [1], originals housed in family archive curated by the author.

¹⁰⁴³ “Brokers Separate,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 5 June 1884, 4.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1885 edition, 1471.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Goss, Queen City*, 2:202. See also Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Ohio, *Cincinnati: A Guide to the Queen City and Its Neighbors* (Cincinnati: Wiesen-Hart Press, 1943), 172.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Goss, Queen City*, 2:202. See also *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1886 edition, 1493; 1887 edition, 1556.

Christ Church Glendale.^[1047] Henry would later serve in the Christ Church choir as a tenor.^[1048]

The same month that Henry Lynde was promoted to paying teller of the Fidelity National Bank, June 1887, the institution failed in spectacular fashion:

In June of this year the sensational failure of the Fidelity National Bank disturbed the city. A large number of loans on wheat and other large loans compelled the suspension of the bank and the liquidation was prolonged over a number of years, with considerable loss to the depositors.^[1049]

A year later, in June 1888, Henry Lynde was listed as a clerk at the First National Bank. Cincinnati directories listed him annually in that post until 1898. The bank occupied a six-story building on the northeast corner of 3rd Street and Walnut Street.^[1050] An 1893 newspaper article describing the later occupations of employees of “the old Fidelity National Bank” noted that “Henry Woodward is with the First National Bank.”^[1051]

The biographical history quoted above summed up Henry Lynde’s banking career:

His education completed, he became identified with the Lafayette Bank and afterward with the First National Bank and for a long period was well known as a prominent figure in the financial circles of the city, his name standing as a synonym for that which is progressive and reliable in banking interests.

He made his residence in Glendale and was well known there.^[1052]

During his residence in Glendale, Henry Lynde served as a local magistrate.^[1053]

On 15 June 1888 when Henry Lynde was forty-two years old, he fell in the street as he walked to work and suffered an injury that would disable him for the rest of his life. His description of the accident would later be recorded in a pension application as an “injury to left knee, from a fall on the pavement by accidental slipping crossing Walnut St near 4th. Cincinnati Ohio—June 15, 1888, while on the way to Bank, where he was employed.”^[1054]

Samuel Bailey Jr., a friend of twenty years, further described Henry Lynde’s injury. Bailey wrote that “he knows the said Henry L. Woodward to have met with an accident by which his left knee cap was badly fractured & that the said Henry L.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Henry Woodward Church Extracts, citing “Parish Registers,” “Page 176.”

¹⁰⁴⁸ Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 5-9.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Goss, Queen City, 2:203.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Williams’ Cincinnati Directory, 1888 edition, 1468; 1889 edition, 1484; 1890 edition, 1478; 1891 edition, 1535; 1892 edition, 1647; 1893 edition, 1697; 1894 edition, 1666; 1895 edition, 1816; 1896 edition, 1620; 1897 edition, 1693; 1898 edition, 1752. See also Goss, Queen City, plate following 2:196.

¹⁰⁵¹ “Harper’s Bank Associates,” Cincinnati [Ohio] Post, 2 May 1893, 4. See also Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

¹⁰⁵² Goss, Queen City, 3:586.

¹⁰⁵³ “Rip’s Romance,” Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer, 9 July 1904, 11.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, disability declaration, 2 September 1891.

Woodward is compelled to use a cane in walking, & is wholly incapacitated for hard labor, & partially so for even light labor, & that his disability is of a permanent nature, & not the result of vicious habits.”^[1055]

C. W. Withenbury, a friend of thirty years, added his own description. Henry Lynde, he said, suffered “a fractured knee cap, which necessitates his using a cane in walking; without which he could not navigate; that the above mentioned disability is permanent, that it was brought about by an accident for which he was in no way responsible.”^[1056]

Henry Lynde was listed as a Civil War veteran in the 1890 U.S. census. The listing noted his three months, 17 days service as a corporal in the 137th Ohio Volunteer Infantry.^[1057] In September 1891, Henry Lynde employed the law firm of A. W. McCormick & Sons of Cincinnati to assist him in seeking a pension from the United States government as an invalid Civil War veteran.^[1058] On 10 December 1891 Henry Lynde was examined by members of a pension review board. The following vital statistics were taken: age, 46; pulse rate, 88; respiration, 18; temperature, 98; height, 6 feet, 1 inch; weight, 165 pounds. The injury was described as follows: “upon examination of Left knee find he has had a transverse fracture of patella, with separation of bone of 1 1/2 inches.”^[1059] Henry Lynde on 10 May 1892 was awarded a pension of \$6 per month, retroactive to 4 September 1891.^[1060]

Eight years later, on 10 March 1899, Henry Lynde’s attorney submitted a petition asking for an increase in his pension from \$6 to \$12 per month. Since the original award Henry Lynde’s health had deteriorated, the petition said, and he now suffered from “injury to left knee, neuralgia, rheumatism—shortness of breath—ulcer of right foot.” The disabilities rendered him wholly incapable of working, the petition said.^[1061]

A pension review board examined Henry Lynde on 16 August 1899 in Madisonville, Ohio. The following vital statistics were recorded: pulse rate: 132 sitting, 148 standing, 168 after exercise; respiration: 23 sitting, 25 standing, 30 after exercise; temperature: 99 1/5; height: 6 feet, 1/2 inch; weight: 145; age: 54.^[1062]

At the beginning of the examination Henry Lynde responded to questions about the petition his attorney had filed:

¹⁰⁵⁵ Henry Woodward Pension File, Samuel Bailey Jr., affidavit, 9 September 1891.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Henry Woodward Pension File, C. W. Withenbury, affidavit, 15 September 1891.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Veterans Schedules 1890 Census, Henry Lynde Woodward, “Glendale Village,” Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor’s district 3, enumeration district 195, sheet 2, line 20, dwelling 164, family 176, reel 66.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, disability declaration, 2 September 1891.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 10 December 1891.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions, invalid pension certificate, form 3-145a, 10 May 1892.

¹⁰⁶¹ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, disability declaration, 10 March 1899.

¹⁰⁶² Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

Bank Clerk—but no occupation for last year—fractured patella left Knee 10 years ago, union of fragments has never taken place, obliged to use a cane to assist in walking, does not suffer with neuralgia; Rheumatism for 12 years, affecting both hands & both Knees; joints never swell; shortness of breath due to some heart trouble which has existed for 2 years, also palpitation of heart; no lung trouble; ulcer of right foot has existed for 3 years, almost continuously, the result of an injury rec'd 10 years ago.^[1063]

Board members then performed a physical examination, noting the following:

We find a transverse fracture of patella of left Knee with separation of lower fragment from upper of 1 1/2 inches; lower fragment is 1/3 of patella; upper being 2/3.

There is considerable deformity, when Knee is bent by increased distance of separation of the fragments of patella; claimant obliged to have assistance in arising from a chair; also requires the use of a cane when walking, which is accomplished with great effort & difficulty^[1064]

Henry Lynde also had problems with his right leg and foot:

We find the right Knee swollen & tender on pressure, no stiffness however, & no limitation of motion

Ulcer of right foot— We find a perforating ulcer 1/4 to 1/3 inch in diameter located on the ball of the great toe, just beneath the metatarsal bone, 3/4 inch inward from outer border of great toe of right foot. There is constantly a slight thin dark brown discharge. We believe there is some necrosis of the metatarsal bone; pressure when walking causes pain^[1065]

The board members found evidence of “cardiac dullness” and diagnosed shortness of breath as heart-related. Another serious problem was “Locomotor Ataxia”:

We find a marked loss of coordinating power in both legs, gait is unsteady; does not attempt to walk without a cane, cannot walk in the dark, and standing with eyes closed, claimant sways as if about to fall; both feet in walking, are raised higher than ordinary, and feet are brought down on the floor with the whole sole flat, cannot arise from a sitting posture without assistance & then does so with difficulty. Claimant has sensation when walking, as of a cushion under the feet; suffers no pain; sensation of numbness at times in both legs.^[1066]

¹⁰⁶³ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

The board found Henry Lynde wholly disabled and recommended that his monthly pension be increased from \$6 to \$30 per month.^[1067]

Henry Lynde added an affidavit to the request for a pension increase, stating “that the disease of heart was first noticed at Glendale, O. about the year 1897 and the locomotor ataxia was first noticed at Glendale, O.—about the year 1894 and neither was due, in any way to vicious habits, and are permanent.”^[1068]

A second Bureau of Pensions review board on 18 May 1900 rejected the examining board’s recommendation that Henry Lynde receive \$30 per month. A report of the meeting noted the chairman’s opposition:

The Chief of the Board of Review with the opinion that the maximum rate under the act of June 27, 1890, is not warranted, independent of locomotor ataxia^[1069]

An increase to \$12 per month was approved, however, and made retroactive to 16 August 1899.^[1070]

Henry Lynde and his family appeared in the 1900 United States census on Oak Avenue in Glendale. The family included “Harry” L. Woodward, head of household, 54, born July 1845, married 28 years, born “Indiani,” parents born Massachusetts, “Book Keeper,” months not employed 0, owner of home; Martha Woodward, wife, 50, born May 1850, married 28 years, mother of four living children, born Connecticut, parents born Connecticut; George S. Woodward, son, 25, born September 1874, married 1 year, born Ohio, “Soap Maker,” months not employed 0; Clifford Woodward, son, 22, born May 1878, born Ohio, “Soap Maker,” months not employed 0; Alfred Woodward, son, 19, born May 1881, born Ohio, “Clerk Government,” months not employed 0; Alice Woodward, daughter, 15, born June 1884, born Ohio, “At School,” attended school 9 months. Also in the household was George’s wife, Ada Woodward, “Daughter in L,” 21, born November 1878, married 1 year, mother of no children.^[1071]

A newspaper notice announcing the 9 December 1900 death of Mary Elizabeth Burchenal, aged sixteen months, daughter of John J. and Leota G. Burchenal, included the following statement: “Funeral services will be held at residence of Mr.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, certificate of examination, form 3-111, 16 August 1899.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, affidavit, 19 April 1900. Henry later stated that he ceased working in 1897. See Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, review board report, form 3-428, 18 May 1900.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions, invalid pension increase order, form 3-145b, 29 May 1900.

¹⁰⁷¹ Henry Lynde Woodward family, Oak Avenue, “Springfield Township, Glendale Village,” Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor’s district 1, enumeration district 314, sheet 11A, lines 1–7, dwelling 203, family 210, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, T623, 1854 reels, reel 1283; via “1900 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

Henry L. Woodward, at 9:30 Tuesday morning.”^[1072] The father of the deceased infant was a colleague of Henry’s son George at the Procter & Gamble Company.^[1073]

On Henry Lynde’s fifty-ninth birthday on 8 July 1904, his son Henry Jr. surprised him by taking him on a motor tour of Cincinnati, an event that was covered by two city newspapers (one of which misstated his age by two years):

Celebrated His Birthday

Inspecting the Many Improvements in the Queen City.

What Henry L. Woodward Saw.

Henry L. Woodward, of Glendale, O., will long remember his sixty-first birthday, which he celebrated the other day in a novel way. Mr. Woodward is one of the pioneer bankers of Cincinnati, but for the last six or seven years he has been confined to his home by paralysis. During all that time he has not been in sight of Cincinnati. His son, Dr. Henry Woodward, took his father in his automobile for a tour of inspection. The many changes which had taken place in the aspect of the city were a cause of great wonder and keen enjoyment of the old gentleman.

The trip was a revelation to him, and Mr. Woodward says of the trip:

“Old Rip Van Winkle could not have found more changes in his native town after a 20-year absence than I saw after my absence of seven years. It is not the same city, and I do not believe I should be able to find my way around, now. The growth has been wonderful, and it looks as though Cincinnati has a bright future. I have watched it grow for 50 years, but the improvement in the last five years is greater than I should have deemed possible. I am indeed proud of my city, and only regret that I am not longer able to be actively engaged in the energetic industry now so active there.

“I came to Cincinnati from Indianapolis in 1853. I went to school here until I graduated from Hughes High School in 1864. I immediately joined the Union Army, entering the 137th Ohio. When the war was over I started in the wholesale grocery business, but soon left that and entered the banking firm of Gilmore, Dunlap & Co., on Fourth-st.

“When that firm dissolved, in 1884, I went with the Lafayette Bank, for several years. Then I was appointed teller of the First National, which position I held till I was disabled, in 1897.

“The trip was in the nature of a surprise to me, for I knew nothing of it till my son came for me in his automobile. Of course, I had to be satisfied with seeing the outside of things, although I longed to go inside some of the new buildings.”^[1074]

¹⁰⁷² “Deaths,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 11 December 1900, 7.

¹⁰⁷³ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Henry Woodward Birthday Reminiscences.

Seven years ago Henry Woodward, former Magistrate of Glendale and pioneer resident of the county, became an invalid and retired from the activities of life.

Yesterday, after the span of years during which the former haunts in and about Cincinnati had never seen him, he was taken to the city in an automobile provided by his son, Dr. Henry Woodward.

During the period of the aged man's retirement the city has undergone many changes. Mr. Woodward marveled at the disappearance of the many old landmarks that were still standing seven years ago, and noted with pleasure the numerous "skyscrapers." It was almost a new city that he saw, and he wondered that it could have grown within the seven years he was confined to his home in Glendale, only a few miles away.

To him it was altogether reminiscent of the long sleep and awakening of Rip Van Winkle.^[1075]

The same month a society column included the following note: "Mr. and Mrs. George Woodward, and sons, Morton and Stedman, of Norwood, were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Woodward the past week."^[1076]

The Worcester first cousin who recounted Henry Lynde's life noted his cousin's employment at the First National Bank and said that it was "where he remained until in 1905, compelled by ill health to retire. He died after an invalidism of 15 years."^[1077] Henry Lynde's grandson, Morton Powell Woodward, who was born in 1900, recalled his grandfather: "My only memory of Henry Woodward is of him sitting in a wheelchair."^[1078]

Henry Lynde died in Glendale on 9 December 1906 at the age of sixty-one.^[1079] Henry Lynde's illness at death was listed as "Locomotor Ataxia." Burial in section 113, lot 205, of Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati took place at 3 p.m. on 11 December. The undertaker was C. M. Epply and the charge for preparing the grave was \$6.^[1080] A gravestone carries the following inscription: "Henry L. Woodward 1845–1906."^[1081] At his death, Henry Lynde owned a Glendale house valued at \$2,050, personal property worth \$340, \$2,500 in bonds, and a \$5,000 life insurance policy.^[1082]

Martha Reynolds was first denied a continuation of her husband's military pension because her assets were too great. After Congress revised the pension structure in 1908,

¹⁰⁷⁵ "Rip's Romance," *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 9 July 1904, 11.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Random Notes," *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 31 July 1904, 25.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 212.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Morton Woodward Interview.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Henry Woodward Pension File, Dr. James F. Heady, affidavit providing medical evidence of death, 8 February 1907. See also Spring Grove Cemetery Records, Henry L. Woodward burial record, card 74411.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Spring Grove Cemetery Records, Henry L. Woodward burial record, card 74411.

¹⁰⁸¹ Find A Grave, Henry Lynde Woodward gravestone photograph, Eddie Donlin, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2 September 2014, Find A Grave Memorial 79076926, Auto Graver, 21 October 2011.

¹⁰⁸² Henry Woodward Pension File, Charles J. Stedman and Jennie Stedman, affidavit on assets of Martha Reynolds (Thomas) Woodward, 19 December 1906, and Hamilton County Auditor C. C. Richardson, property audit certificate, 8 February 1907.

she reapplied and was approved for payments of \$12 per month. Martha Reynolds continued to receive pension payments until her death on 15 May 1918.^[1083]

Children of Henry and Martha (Thomas) Woodward.^[1084]

- 11 i. GEORGE⁹ STEDMAN WOODWARD, born 19 September 1874; married ADA MORTON.
- ii. HENRY LYNDE WOODWARD JR., born 16 July 1876; married (1) FRANCES ELOISE CLEVELAND, (2) ESTELLE NIXON, (3) DOROTHY WILLIAMS. Henry Lynde Jr.'s grandnephew recalled that his grandfather and granduncle would visit each other late in life at their respective Michigan cottages: "Granddaddy was, it seemed to me, rather close to his brother Henry Lynde ("Harry") Woodward, M.D. A Woodhaven crew would go at least once or twice each summer to visit Harry and Dorothy at their cottage in Topinabee, perhaps an hour's drive from Forest Beach."^[1085]
- iii. CLIFFORD BROOKS WOODWARD, born 13 May 1878; married MARTHA WESTERMAN.
- iv. ALFRED THOMAS WOODWARD, born 2 or 4 May 1881;^[1086] married (1) MABEL STRICKLER, (2) EDNA WHITE WILKS.
- v. ALICE NOBLE WOODWARD, born 7 June 1884;^[1087] married FREDERICK WILLIAM GARBER.

¹⁰⁸³ Henry Woodward Pension File, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, widow's pension report, form 3-361, 15 March 1907, Martha Reynolds (Thomas) Woodward, declaration for widow's pension, 1 May 1908, United States Bureau of Pensions Board of Review, widow's pension report, form 3-367, 30 June 1908, and United States Bureau of Pensions, notice of returned pension check, 13 June 1918. See also Henry Woodward Church Extracts, citing "Parish Registers," "Page 229" and "Page 372."

¹⁰⁸⁴ Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, pension beneficiaries questionnaire, form 3-402, 20 March 1898. See also Alice (Woodward) Garber, family record, written on back endpaper in *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, Translated out of the Original Tongues* (New York: American Bible Society, 1858), original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Woodward Family Charts. See also Morton Woodward Interview. See also Frederick Garber and Alice Woodward wedding announcement, undated clipping from unidentified newspaper, circa June 1884, original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Goss, Queen City, 3:586–587. See also Hobson Woodward, "Connecticut Family," 132.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Woody Bliss, "Questions."

¹⁰⁸⁶ Alfred T. Woodward birth record, 2 May 1881, M[ale], W[hite], [residence:] "June St.," [parents: only birthplaces given], "U.S., U.S.," [reporting physicians:] "I. D. & J. Jones, MD," City of Cincinnati Health Department records, 1881, page 132, record 2659, file order number 507989, Archives and Rare Books Library, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; via "Cincinnati Birth and Death Records, 1865–1912," University of Cincinnati, Digital Resource Commons, DRC.libraries.uc.edu.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Alice Noble Woodward birth record, 7 June 1884, F[emale], W[hite], [residence:] "Bellevue Ave.," [parents:], "Henry Lynde, Age 39 yrs, Indianapolis, Ind, Banker, Martha Reynolds Thomas, Age 34 yrs, Norwich, Conn, 4 other living children," [reporting physicians:] "Filed by Aff. of older brother Henry L. Woodward—Dr. Woodward—8-10-40 Jos. Back, Reg.," City of Cincinnati Health Department records, 1884, page 117, record 6679, file order number 507990, Archives and Rare Books Library, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; via "Cincinnati Birth and Death Records, 1865–1912," University of Cincinnati, Digital Resource Commons, DRC.libraries.uc.edu.

George Stedman Woodward

1874–1955

Mount Auburn, Ohio

Cincinnati, Ohio

Walnut Hills, Ohio

Glendale, Ohio

Kansas City, Missouri

Norwood, Ohio

11. GEORGE STEDMAN⁹ WOODWARD (*Henry Lynde*⁸, *Charles*⁷, *Samuel Bayard*⁶, *Samuel*⁵, *Israel*⁴, *John Jr.*³, *John Sr.*², *Henry*¹, *John*^A, *Robert*^B) was born on 19 September 1874 in Cincinnati, Ohio.^[1088] He died on 11 October 1955 in Cincinnati.^[1089] George married ADA NELLIE MORTON on 17 June 1899 in Norwood, Ohio.^[1090] Ada Nellie was born on 25 November 1878, the daughter of John Hopkins Morton and Mary Ada (Powell) Morton of Cincinnati.^[1091]

A birth announcement called George the son of Henry Woodward and the “grand-son of C. Woodward, General Agent of the Adams Express Company. As expressmen’s packages generally go D. H. the weight is not stated.”^[1092] The abbreviation “D. H.” stands for “dead head” and referred to packages that were carried free of charge for employees of express companies and consequently not weighed.^[1093]

When George was an infant he was taken by his parents to visit relatives in Norwich, Connecticut. George and his mother remained in Norwich while his father Henry Lynde visited relations in a nearby town, probably Northampton, Massachusetts.^[1094]

¹⁰⁸⁸ George Stedman Woodward birth announcement, “Born. At Cincinnati,” *Our Expressman* 2 (October 1874), 47. A clipping of above birth announcement is housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Henry Woodward Pension File, Henry Lynde Woodward, pension beneficiaries questionnaire, form 3-402, 20 March 1898. See also Spring Grove Cemetery Records, George S. Woodward burial record, card 141990.

¹⁰⁸⁹ George Woodward Death Notice.

¹⁰⁹⁰ George S. Woodward and Ada Nellie Morton marriage record, 17 June 1899, Hamilton County, Ohio, Probate Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, volume 141, license number 87; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Marriage Records (Hamilton County, Ohio), 1852–1931; Restored Marriage Records, 1808–1873, 1875, 186 reels, reel 344510*; via “Ohio, County Marriages, 1789–1994,” Familysearch.org. See also Woodward and Woodward, “Descendants,” 225. See also Morton Woodward Interview.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ada Woodward Hundredth Article. See also Powell Family Bible Extracts.

¹⁰⁹² George Stedman Woodward birth announcement, “Born. At Cincinnati,” *Our Expressman* 2 (October 1874), 47.

¹⁰⁹³ “No More Carpet-Bagging,” *Express Gazette* 21 (15 September 1896): 265.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Unknown correspondents, letter fragment, circa September 1874 to September 1875 (period during which George was an infant), [1], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

At age six George was recorded with his family in the 1880 United States census. That year George lived on June Street in Cincinnati with his parents and brothers Harry and Clifford.^[1095]

George began work at the Procter & Gamble Company at the age of fifteen.^[1096] His going to work coincided with his father's increasing disability due to his knee injury.^[1097] The opportunity to work at Procter & Gamble arose through a church connection to William Alexander Procter, son of one of the company's founders. Henry Lynde and Martha knew Procter as fellow parishioners at Christ Church Episcopal in Glendale, according to George's grandson, and Procter offered a job during a visit with Martha:

Mr. Procter, who was a member of his church, came by the house and told her that if any of the sons needed a job he had one for him at Procter and Gamble. He being the oldest son, went down and took a job.^[1098]

George himself recalled his beginnings at Procter & Gamble in a speech he made at his retirement dinner nearly half a century later:

My first connection with the Company was in July, 1890, when I had a temporary job in the Traffic Department of the General Office. At that time, the office was in the United Bank Building at Third and Walnut. The Company used the western half of the fifth floor of the building for its office force and the same space on the sixth floor for storing advertising material and samples. There was one "private office" occupied by Mr. W. A. Procter, President; Mr. W. C. Procter, General Manager; Mr. Hastings French, in charge of sales; and Mr. H. W. Brown, in charge of advertising.

Mr. J. H. French was Treasurer in those days and probably had a desk in there also, but he usually sat at a roll top desk in the "cage" with Mr. James W. Brown, who was Cashier and Paymaster.

Mr. David B. Gamble was in charge of the main office and personally handled orders and credits. All orders were written in longhand on "green tickets" by A. C. Shepherd, and two tissue copies were made by the use of wet cloths and a screw press—one copy for the City Office and one for Ivorydale. All bookkeeping was done by hand in bound books. In all, there were probably 25 people in the office and about four telephones.^[1099]

Having completed his summer job, George expected to return to the Glendale public schools (as a tenth or eleventh grader^[1100]), but illness intervened and led to his

¹⁰⁹⁵ United States 1880 Census, Henry Lynde Woodward family, June Street, Cincinnati "Precinct A 2nd Ward," Hamilton County, Ohio, page 12, supervisor's district 3, enumeration district 203, lines 22–27, dwelling 83, family 88, reel 1030.

¹⁰⁹⁶ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5. See also Woody Bliss, "My Name," [1].

¹⁰⁹⁸ James Woodward Interview, [1].

¹⁰⁹⁹ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5.

¹¹⁰⁰ George was age fifteen in the summer of 1890, the age at which American children have traditionally completed the ninth grade. A family tradition states, however, that George completed two years

decision to leave school and go to work just one month past his sixteenth birthday. He would remain a Procter & Gamble employee until age sixty-five:

I had expected to return to high school in September, but just before school opened was taken ill with typhoid fever, and by the time I recovered in November I had decided to go to work instead.

So on November 24, 1890, I started in the main office at Ivorydale as office boy, telephone operator and plant messenger at \$4.50 per week. The office force was made up of James W. Donnelly, Superintendent; H. H. Garrison, one assistant who handled the records of goods received and approved the bills and also made up all payrolls; John McGowan, the Cashier and Bookkeeper; and Miss Bauerle, who ordered all supplies, wrote letters and ran the telephone exchange when I was out of the office. We worked ten hours daily, from 6:50 a.m. to 5:35 p.m., with 45 minutes at noon.

It is difficult to realize how much the business has grown since 1890. It was a big business for those times then, and we were all proud to work at such a fine, new, modern factory as Ivorydale, which, as you remember, was only three years old when I went to work there.

The Chemical Division then consisted of Dr. Evans, a woman assistant, and John Elfers. The laboratory was on the second story of the water treatment building, and it was necessary to use an umbrella to enter unless you didn't mind getting wet.^[1101]

Sixteen-year-old George purchased a single share of Procter & Gamble stock at the initial offering in 1890:

Mr. John J. Burchenal was in charge of the Glycerin and Candle factories, with an office in the glycerin house. I do not know just why he should have been the one to offer me stock, but after I had worked at Ivorydale for a while, he stopped me one morning and asked if I didn't think I should begin saving for the future (out of my \$4.50 per week). He said the Company would buy me a share of common stock, which would cost me \$110.00, and I could pay off the debt at the rate of \$1.00 per week. I liked the idea, but told him I'd have to consider the matter before taking such a step, since it meant parting with 20% of my salary for the next two years. I purchased the share, and sometime when I have nothing pressing to do, am going to figure what it was worth to me in later years.^[1102]

George received a promotion and a raise in 1891:

of high school, so despite his age he may have completed the tenth grade before leaving school. See Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5. Another family tradition states that George left school after completing the eighth grade. See Woody Bliss, "My Name," [1].

¹¹⁰¹ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5. 18.

¹¹⁰² George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5. A single share of Procter & Gamble Company stock purchased in 1890 was worth \$1,056,960 on 9 August 2019 (the stock split eleven times between 1920 and 2019, meaning one share in 1890, through geometric progression, had split into 9,600 shares by 2019).

A year after I started to work, I was promoted to the position of stock clerk in the shipping office at the salary of \$5.00 per week. My duties were to count the warehouse stocks each morning and compare them with the record. One of these records which I kept was a Day Book, showing in detail every shipment made, and I also kept a record of total shipments for the year to date.

Mr. William Cooper Procter arrived at our office each morning at 7:40, and always stopped at my desk to see what had been shipped the day before. After I had been in this position for some time it began to look, as the year drew toward its close, that we might make a million box record for the year. Mr. Procter's interest was intense. When we actually did pass the million mark shortly before the end of the year, he expressed great pleasure and satisfaction.^[1103]

Another of George's duties in the shipping office was apparently the construction of boxes for the shipment of goods, according to his grandson: "His first job was nailing together wooden crates."^[1104]

George recalled that the Procter & Gamble shipping office was in a building shared with a railroad company:

There were four clerks in the shipping office and when I first came to Ivorydale, A. E. Anderson was bill clerk there, writing out by hand bills-of-lading in duplicate and shipping lists for all shipments made by the Company. At the same time I entered the shipping office he was made shipping clerk in charge of the office. The shipping office was located at the west end of the warehouse. The first floor had two offices, one containing the Procter & Gamble force of four employees, the other occupied by the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway with two employees. The second floor had two offices also, one used by the Big Four Railroad and the other for storing records.

The offices were heated by steam which came through the framing houses, but when No. 5 framing house was shut down, the steam was cut off. To take care of this situation, each of the first floor offices had open fire places with coal fires and the Big Four had a stove in its office.^[1105]

At about the age of twenty, George was sent with a colleague on a business trip to New York and Boston:

In the year 1894 or 1895, the Company put on a deal in New England of one free box with five, and the office force there needed assistance. I was chosen to go there with a man from the City Office. The Company was kind enough to give us a few days in New York on the way. Mr. H. W. Brown, Advertising Manager, who was there at the time, took us around to a number of places—no doubt, carefully picked.

¹¹⁰³ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5.

¹¹⁰⁴ James Woodward Interview, [1].

¹¹⁰⁵ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 5, 18.

At the time we were there, Mr. H. G. French was in New York checking advertising in elevated or surface cars, and I remember he came to Mr. Brown to report. I little thought then how closely and pleasantly I would be associated with him in later years.

When we reached Boston we found the office on State Street and went to work. The Company agent at that time was George E. Ficken, and his office force consisted of one man, C. J. Huff. We worked with him for six or eight weeks as I remember it, and we worked hard.^[1106]

George met Ada Nellie Morton when her University of Cincinnati women's basketball team visited Glendale to play a game against the Glendale Female College. The circumstances were later described by George and Ada's son Morton to a newspaper reporter, who wrote the following description: "Ada's mother considered Glendale a mini-journey from Cincinnati in those days. So Mrs. Morton alerted Mrs. Woodward, a friend and former Cincinnati neighbor, that Ada would be in the village. Whether by intent or by chance the two young people were introduced."^[1107]

George and Ada were married on 17 June 1899.^[1108] The wedding took place at Ada's Norwood home.^[1109] The couple's marriage license application stated that George S. Woodward, 24, was a shipping clerk, resided in Glendale, was born in Cincinnati, the son of H. L. Woodward and Martha R. Thomas, and that he had not been previously married; Ada Nellie Morton, 20, no occupation, was a resident of Norwood, born in Cincinnati to John H. Morton and Mary A. "Powel," also not previously married. The ceremony was performed by John Goddard, a minister of the bride's New Jerusalem Church.^[1110]

As shown by the United States census of 1900, the couple first lived with George's parents and siblings. The census of the Oak Avenue, Glendale, home of Henry Lynde and Martha included George S. Woodward, son, 25, born September 1874, married 1 year, born Ohio, "Soap Maker," months not employed 0; and Ada Woodward, "Daughter in L," 21, born November 1878, married 1 year, mother of no children.^[1111]

George was transferred to the Procter & Gamble Cost Department in 1900.^[1112] In 1904 the Cincinnati directory identified George as a "clk." and said that he and Ada

¹¹⁰⁶ [George Woodward Retirement Speech](#), 18.

¹¹⁰⁷ [Ada Woodward Hundredth Article](#).

¹¹⁰⁸ [Powell Family Bible Extracts](#).

¹¹⁰⁹ [Morton Woodward Interview](#).

¹¹¹⁰ George S. Woodward and Ada Nellie Morton marriage record, 17 June 1899, Hamilton County, Ohio, Probate Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, volume 141, license number 87; via Family History Library microfilm publication, *Marriage Records (Hamilton County, Ohio), 1852–1931; Restored Marriage Records, 1808–1873, 1875, 186 reels, reel 344510*; via "Ohio, County Marriages, 1789–1994," Familysearch.org.

¹¹¹¹ Henry Lynde Woodward family, Oak Avenue, "Springfield Township, Glendale Village," Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor's district 1, enumeration district 314, sheet 11A, lines 1–7, dwelling 203, family 210, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, T623, 1854 reels, reel 1283; via "1900 United States Federal Census," Ancestry.com.

¹¹¹² [George Woodward Retirement Speech](#), 18.

were living on “Paddack Road opp. Summit Av.” in the Bond Hill section of the city.^[1113]

In the autumn of 1904 when George was thirty he was sent to help set up operations at a plant in Kansas City, Missouri, an assignment that would last three years.^[1114] The newly constructed \$1 million complex in Kansas City consisted of two new buildings at the corner of 18th Street and Kansas Avenue.^[1115]

In October 1904, the first branch factory at Kansas City was nearing completion, and I was sent there as Office Manager. In those days, the factory was a long way from the street cars, and I remember it was exceedingly cold just after January 1, 1905.^[1116] I froze both my ears badly one morning on my way to work. A few days later, Bob Ficken came out to help us get started on invoicing shipments, and his ears were badly frosted, too.

Our lunch room at Kansas City was in one tent and the kitchen in another. We had a colored cook and he fed us quite well, but I can remember on April Fool’s Day he gave us scrambled eggs filled with chopped string. Of course, as each one got a mouthful of this choice dish, he kept the secret to make certain that the others got their share as well.^[1117]

The family resided at 3534 Jefferson Street in Kansas City, Missouri, when George and Ada’s son Vernon was born on 27 January 1906.^[1118]

After the family returned to Ohio, George was transferred to the Procter & Gamble treasury department, where he would remain for the next thirty-two years:

In October, 1907, I came back to Cincinnati and entered the Treasury Department. There I met our President for the first time; he was junior clerk in the department, but he showed signs even then of stepping up to better things.^[1119]

¹¹¹³ *Williams’ Cincinnati Directory*, 1904 edition, 2100.

¹¹¹⁴ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 18. The Kansas City assignment is also mentioned in Ada Woodward Hundredth Article.

¹¹¹⁵ “Building Intelligence: Kansas City.” Some histories of Procter & Gamble mistakenly place the plant in Kansas City, Kansas, rather than Kansas City, Missouri.

¹¹¹⁶ A cold wave pushed the temperature in Kansas City to two degrees below zero at 7 a.m. on 13 January 1905. See “May Go 10 Degrees Below: Coldest Weather of the Winter Will be Recorded To-Night,” *Kansas City [Missouri] Star*, 13 January 1905, [1].

¹¹¹⁷ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 18.

¹¹¹⁸ Vernon Woodward birth record, 27 January 1906, Kansas City, Missouri, “Record of Births—Kansas City, Missouri,” January 1906, p. 170, No. 38669; via Missouri State Archives microfilm publication, *Missouri Birth Records*; via “Missouri, Birth Registers, 1847–1910,” Ancestry.com. See also United States 1910 Census, George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, “Columbia Township, Norwood City,” Hamilton County, Ohio, ward 2, supervisor’s district 214, enumeration district 303, sheet 2B, lines 52–56, dwelling 31, family 35, reel 1195. See also Woodward Family Charts.

¹¹¹⁹ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 18. William Deupree was named company president in 1930, the first in that position who was not a member of the Procter or Gamble families. See “Evolution of P&G,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 29 January 2005, D2.

Upon his return to Cincinnati George hired the architectural firm of Garber & Woodward to design a house for his family at 4311 Floral Avenue in the Cincinnati suburb of Norwood. A later owner described the 1909 house as “just about perfect” and “custom built and solid as a rock.” Among its features were Rookwood ceramic fireplaces, small-paned windows, ceiling beams of “country-style wood,” and tin chandeliers.^[1120]

George and Ada were recorded in the 15 April 1910 United States census at 4311 Floral Avenue. The family included: George S., 35, “Clerk, Soap Mfg.”; Ada M., 31, “Wife,” occupation “None”; Morton P., 9, born Ohio; George S. Jr., 6, born Ohio; Vernon, 4, born Missouri. George was listed as owning his home and carrying a mortgage.^[1121]

George and Ada purchased a summer cottage in Forest Beach, Michigan, which they named Woodhaven.^[1122] An August 1911 society column stated that family members “have now gone to Forest Beach, Mich., to another family house party at the summer home of Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward.”^[1123]

From 1909 to 1913 the Cincinnati directory listed George as “clk The Procter & Gamble Co res Norwood.”^[1124] George and his brothers Alfred and Henry were listed among “a large crowd” of members and friends who in July 1913 “visited Camp Sycamore on the Fourth and inspected the new shack which has been built to replace the one washed away by the spring flood.”^[1125] In 1914 George and four others, probably as representatives of Procter & Gamble, chartered a grease manufacturing company, the Hydrogenation Company of Cincinnati, with \$3,000 in capital.^[1126]

George’s Cincinnati directory listing from 1914 to 1917 was “gen bkpr [general bookkeeper] The Procter & Gamble Co res Norwood,” his position transitioning in 1918 to “gen auditor.”^[1127] Also from 1914 to 1918 George was listed as a member of the Automobile Club of Cincinnati, an organization that met in the Hotel Gibson.^[1128]

In early 1918 an item regarding Procter & Gamble dividends appeared in a financial newspaper:

¹¹²⁰ Owen Findsen, “Bits of Colonial, Victorian Decor Grace Historic Home in Norwood,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 23 May 1984, 27.

¹¹²¹ United States 1910 Census, George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, “Columbia Township, Norwood City,” Hamilton County, Ohio, ward 2, supervisor’s district 214, enumeration district 303, sheet 2B, lines 52–56, dwelling 31, family 35, reel 1195. See also George Woodward Death Notice. See also John Hopkins Morton and Mary Ada (Powell) Morton fiftieth wedding anniversary notice, “Norwood Couple to Celebrate Golden Wedding Anniversary,” undated clipping from unidentified newspaper, handwritten date of “2-19 1923” (19 February 1923), original housed in family archive curated by the author. See also Woodward Family Charts.

¹¹²² Woody Bliss, “Questions.”

¹¹²³ “Random Notes,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 13 August 1911, 42.

¹¹²⁴ Williams’ Cincinnati Directory, 1909 edition, 2034; 1911 edition, 2014; 1912 edition, 2133; 1913 edition, 2122.

¹¹²⁵ “Random Notes,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 6 July 1913, 49.

¹¹²⁶ “Ohio Charters,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 10 May 1914, 29.

¹¹²⁷ Williams’ Cincinnati Directory, 1914 edition, 2112; 1915 edition, 2021; 1917 edition, 2035; 1918 edition, 2046. See also Williams’ Norwood Directory, 1917 edition, 42.

¹¹²⁸ Williams’ Cincinnati Directory, 1914 edition, 862, 873; 1915 edition, 844; 1916 edition, 830; 1918 edition, 828.

General Auditor Geo. S. Woodward, Jan. 29 1918, wrote: "All dividends upon the stock (both preferred and common) paid during the calendar year 1917 were out of net profits earned during said calendar year 1917, with the single exception of the dividend upon the preferred stock paid Jan. 15 1917, which latter dividend was paid out of net profits earned during the year 1916."^[1129]

In June 1918 a notice was printed naming George as the executor of the estate of his mother, Martha (Thomas) Woodward.^[1130]

In August 1918 a Cincinnati society column announced that the Woodward family was in Forest Beach:

George S. Woodward and family and their guests are at the Woodward cottage. They will return to Cincinnati early in September.^[1131]

George registered for the World War I draft at the Norwood, Ohio, city hall on 12 September 1918. The registration lists him as residing at 4311 Floral Avenue; age 44, born 19 September 1874; white; native born; occupation "Gen Auditor," Procter & Gamble Company, Gwyne Building, Cincinnati; nearest relative "Wife"; height tall, build medium, brown eyes, brown hair, not "obviously physically disqualified."^[1132]

In the Procter & Gamble treasury department, George held the positions of assistant general auditor, assistant auditor, and assistant treasurer before being promoted to treasurer in 1919.^[1133] A grandson recalled that George was a quiet man and that he worked his way up to treasurer without a formal education:

His only education was a correspondence course in accounting.

He was a kind man who put many relatives through college.^[1134]

George was fond of reading, especially enjoying the *Saturday Evening Post*.^[1135]

¹¹²⁹ "Procter & Gamble Co.," *The Commercial & Financial Chronicle* 106 (2 February 1918): 506.

¹¹³⁰ "Notice," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 5 June 1918, 15.

¹¹³¹ "Resorts," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 11 August 1918, 56.

¹¹³² George Stedman Woodward World War I draft registration record, 12 September 1918, Local Board, Hamilton County, Division No. 1, City Hall, Norwood, Ohio, serial number 1443, order number 2226, Records of the Selective Service System (World War I), 1917–1939, Record Group 163, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards: Ohio*, M1509: Ohio, 239 reels, reel OHIO Hamilton County, no. 1, T–Z (Family History Library reel 1832242); via "United States World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," FamilySearch.org.

¹¹³³ Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5. See also Oscar Schisgall, *Eyes on Tomorrow: The Evolution of Procter & Gamble* (Chicago: J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, 1981), appendix A.

¹¹³⁴ James Woodward Interview, [1]. Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5, also calls George "a kind and quiet man."

¹¹³⁵ Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5.

The 1 January 1920 United States census recorded the family at 4311 Floral Avenue in Norwood. Listed were: George, 45, "Treasurer, Soap factory"; Ada, "Wife," occupation "None"; Morton, 19; Stedman, 16; and Vernon, 13.^[1136]

From 1921 to 1929 George was listed in the Cincinnati directory as "treas[urer] The Procter & Gamble Co n e c 6th and Main [work address at the northeast corner of 6th and Main streets] res Norwood."^[1137]

A notice dated 25 July 1922 and signed "George S. Woodward, Treasurer," announced that Procter & Gamble had called for the redemption of serial gold notes issued in 1918.^[1138] On 30 July 1922 a society column in a Cincinnati newspaper carried the following note under the headline "Forest Beach, Mich.":

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward, Vernon Woodward and Miss Cora Morton, all of Cincinnati, are occupying one of the cottages^[1139]

In September 1923 George donated \$10 to a fund for the relief of Japanese earthquake victims.^[1140]

Almost ten thousand people attended the 8 August 1925 annual "Dividend Day" Procter & Gamble outing on the banks of the Ohio River. The river boats Island Queen and Island Belle provided calliope music for the event, which coincided with the distribution of profit-sharing dividends to company employees. George was listed as a timer for aquatic races, which included underwater contests, relay swims, and tub races.^[1141] On 20 October 1925, and again a year later, George was reelected treasurer by the company's board.^[1142]

George contributed \$5 to a March 1928 campaign to raise \$25,000 to fund the maintenance of the Cincinnati units of the Ohio National Guard.^[1143] A society column announced on 5 August 1928 that "Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward and Mr. Morton Woodward were recent arrivals at Terrace Inn, Bay View, Mich."^[1144] A 27

¹¹³⁶ George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, "Columbia Township Precinct O., City Norwood," Hamilton County, Ohio, ward 2, supervisor's district 248, enumeration district 462, sheet 11B, lines 76–80, dwelling 207, family 272, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, T625, 2076 reels, reel 1395; via "1920 United States Federal Census," Ancestry.com.

¹¹³⁷ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1921 edition, 1721; 1922 edition, 1675; 1923 edition, 1666; 1924 edition, 1767; 1925 edition, 1831; 1926 edition, 1861; 1927 edition, 1884; 1928 edition, 1897; 1929 edition, 1905. See also *Williams' Norwood Directory*, 1924 edition, 491; 1926 edition, 470.

¹¹³⁸ "To the Holders," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 1 August 1922, 28.

¹¹³⁹ "At Resorts," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 30 July 1922, 57. Cora Morton was Ada (Morton) Woodward's sister.

¹¹⁴⁰ "\$7000 is Added," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 13 September 1923, 2.

¹¹⁴¹ "Aquatic Events Featured," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 9 August 1925, 14.

¹¹⁴² "Expected Action Taken," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 21 October 1925, 17. See also "Procter & Gamble Increases Dividend Rate," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 20 October 1926, 17.

¹¹⁴³ "One Fourth of Fund is Provided," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 19 March 1928, 13.

¹¹⁴⁴ "Random Notes," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 5 August 1928, 86.

September 1928 report stated that George contributed \$10 to the American Red Cross for the relief of hurricane victims in Florida and the Caribbean.^[1145]

A few months before the stock market crash of 1929, George gave \$125 to the Cincinnati Community Chest, donating the same amount again a few months after the crash.^[1146] On 13 February 1930, Procter & Gamble announced that employees had been paid \$800,000 in profit-sharing dividends during that year. The announcement was made by George in his role as company treasurer and featured his explanation of the program:

It was in 1887, 43 years ago that the first profit-sharing plan was put into effect. Although it was successful from the start, it has undergone considerable development and numerous changes have been made. At first the employee received a dividend check for profits in proportion to his wages. This had the drawback that it was apt to be looked upon by the employee merely as part of his wages, and spent as such.

The plan as finally evolved rests upon stock ownership in the company. The employee who desires to take advantage of this profit-sharing plan is required to save a fixed proportion of his wages each year to be used for payment on his stock.^[1147]

George and Ada were recorded living at 4311 Floral Avenue on 1 April 1930, their sons having moved away. The United States census of that date recorded them as George S. Woodward, 55, "Treasurer, Soap manuftg"; and Ada, 51, "Wife," occupation "None." They were said to own a home worth \$15,000, which lacked a "Radio set."^[1148] A 3 August 1930 society column carried the following note: "Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward, of Norwood, are in their attractive cottage at Forest Beach for the season, where they are soon to be joined by their son and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Morton P. Woodward."^[1149]

In 1930 Procter & Gamble acquired the British soap company Thomas Hedley and Sons of Newcastle upon Tyne, England.^[1150] George's son Morton was assigned to oversee the operation of the plant and moved his family to England.^[1151] A newspaper report stated that in the summer of 1930 Morton's family, accompanied by George and Ada, planned to travel to the location of the newly acquired business:

¹¹⁴⁵ "Relief Quota is at Half-Way Mark," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 27 September 1928, 10.

¹¹⁴⁶ "Day's Goal Surpassed," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 30 April 1929, 5. See also "Large Gifts Go Into Chest Coffers," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 8 May 1930, 8.

¹¹⁴⁷ "Employees Share \$800,000 Fund," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 14 February 1930, 41.

¹¹⁴⁸ George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, "Norwood City," Hamilton County, Ohio, ward 2, block 6, supervisor's district 24, enumeration district 31-304, sheet 9A, lines 2-3, dwelling 124, family 153, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, T626, 2667 reels, reel 1818; via "1930 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com*.

¹¹⁴⁹ "North Resorts are Gay with Many Guests," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 3 August 1930, 76.

¹¹⁵⁰ Richard Evelyn and I. M. D. Little, *Concentration in British Industry: An Empirical Study of the Structure of Industrial Production, 1935-51* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 261-262.

¹¹⁵¹ "Morton Woodward, P&G Retiree," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 18 January 2004, 41.

Mr. and Mrs. Morton P. Woodward and children, Catherine and Morton Jr., sail on the *Bremen* August 20 for New Castle, England, where they expect to make their future home.

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward expect to join the Woodwards over on the boat.^[1152]

The record of the group's arrival shows that they departed New York on the steamship *Bremen* and arrived at Southampton, England, on 26 August, with their destination listed as "Th. Hedley & Co. Newcastle O'Tyne." Traveling in first class with George Woodward, "Treasurer," age 56, were George's wife Ada Woodward, 51; his son, Morton P. Woodward, "Superintend.," 29; Morton's wife Charlotte Woodward, 29; and their children, Katherine, 5, and Morton Jr., 2.^[1153]

After twelve days in England George returned to the United States separately from his wife, departing Southampton alone on the *Berengaria* on 6 September. He was listed as George Woodward, last address in the United Kingdom "c/o T. Hedley & Co. Newcastle," "Broker," age 55.^[1154] His arrival record shows he reached New York on 12 September. George Woodward was listed as age 55, married, born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 19 September 1874, address in United States "Procter & Gamble Co. Gwynne Bldg. Cincinnati. O."^[1155] Ada returned later, departing Liverpool alone on the *Baltic* on 4 October and arriving at New York on 13 October.^[1156] On 14 October

¹¹⁵² "Suburban Random Notes," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 17 August 1930, 78.

¹¹⁵³ George Stedman Woodward, Ada (Morton) Woodward, and family passenger list record, *S. S. Bremen*, from New York, New York, to Southampton, England, 26 August 1930, "Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers," page [1], lines 31–36, Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Inwards Passenger Lists, Series BT26; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Inwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT26, 1472 Pieces, Piece 946; via "UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960," Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁵⁴ George Stedman Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Berengaria*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 6 September 1930, "Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers," page 2, line [25], Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Outwards Passenger Lists, Series BT27; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Outwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT27, 1922 Pieces; via "UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960," Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁵⁵ George Stedman Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Berengaria*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 12 September 1930, "List of United States Citizens," number 5, page 51, line 21, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 4823; via "New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957," Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Baltic*, from Liverpool, England, to New York, New York, 13 October 1930, "List of United States Citizens," number 4, page 150, line 7, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 4849; via "New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957," Ancestry.com.

George was reappointed treasurer of Procter & Gamble at a board of directors meeting in Cincinnati.^[1157]

George appeared on the Cincinnati Community Chest “Final List of Big Givers” on 1 May 1931, having donated \$375 to fund local organizations and charities.^[1158] On 19 July George was mentioned another time in the newspaper: “At Forest Beach Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward have again opened their cottage and are looking forward to visits of their sons later in the season.”^[1159]

The following note appeared in a Cincinnati society column on 4 January 1932:

Mr. and Mrs. George Woodward Sr. were hosts at a luncheon in the Restaurant Continentale at the Netherlands Plaza in honor of Miss Anita Ayer, of Akron, Ohio.^[1160]

George and Ada visited their son and his family in Newcastle, England, in 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938. George and Ada arrived at Southampton on 17 May 1932, voyaging from New York on the *Europa*. George S. Woodward gave his “proposed address in the United Kingdom” as “Birney Wood, Throckley, Northcumberland, England,” an address near Newcastle. He was called an “Executive,” age 51, while Ada was called a “Housewife,” age 53.^[1161]

George and Ada returned to the United States on 4 June 1932, leaving Southampton on the *Berengaria*, bound for New York. In the departure record George gave his “last address in the United Kingdom” as “c/o T. Hedley & Co. Newcastle / Tyne.” George Woodward was listed as an “Executive,” age 58, and Ada Woodward as a “Hwife,” 54.^[1162] The arrival record shows George Woodward, 58, and Ada Woodward, 54, of 4311 Floral Avenue, Norwood, Ohio, disembarking at New York on 10 June.^[1163] A Cincinnati society column noted where George and Ada stayed after

¹¹⁵⁷ “Chairmanship Filled by W. C. Procter,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 15 October 1930, 20.

¹¹⁵⁸ “Praises Deluge Chest Leaders,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 1 May 1931, 9.

¹¹⁵⁹ “North Resorts are Gay with Many Guests,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 19 July 1931, 57.

¹¹⁶⁰ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 4 January 1932, 3.

¹¹⁶¹ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Europa*, from New York, New York, to Southampton, England, 17 May 1932, “Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers,” page [3], lines 65–66, Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Inwards Passenger Lists, Series BT26; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Inwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT26, 1472 Pieces, Piece 1000; via “UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960,” Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁶² George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Berengaria*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 4 June 1932, “Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers,” page 1, lines [16]–[17], Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Outwards Passenger Lists, Series BT27; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Outwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT27, 1922 Pieces; via “UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960,” Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁶³ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Berengaria*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 10 June 1932, “List of United States Citizens,” number 2, page 124, lines 6–7, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 5168; via “New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957,” Ancestry.com.

getting off the ship: "Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward are stopping at the Roosevelt during their summer visit in the east."^[1164]

That fall on 22 September 1932 George was listed among purchasers of season tickets from the University of Cincinnati Boosters' Committee for box seats at University of Cincinnati Bearcats football games at James Gamble Nippert Memorial Stadium.^[1165]

In the late summer of 1933 a society report noted that George and Ada were vacationing in Michigan "at their delightful cottage at Forest Beach, on the picturesque North Shore Drive."^[1166] At about this time, probably during the winter of 1933 to 1934, George and Ada began making winter visits to the Fenway Hotel in Dunedin, Florida.^[1167]

George and Ada visited England again in 1934. A Cincinnati news report datelined New York, 31 March, noted that George and Ada were among several Ohioans who "sailed tonight on the liner Bremen for Europe."^[1168] On 6 April, George S. Woodward, "Treasurer," 59, and Ada M. Woodward, occupation "None," 55, disembarked from the *Bremen* at Southampton. Their destination address that year was "Stoneleigh Graham Pk. Rd. Gosforth, Newcastle."^[1169]

The couple crossed the English Channel before their return home. On 25 April 1934 they departed Cherbourg, France, aboard the *Majestic*, arriving in New York on 1 May. The arrival record listed them as George S. Woodward, 59, and Ada M. Woodward, 55, and gave the address of their son, George Jr.: "36, Central Terrace, Cincinnati, O."^[1170] Records before and after this one show that George and Ada continued to reside at 4311 Floral Avenue in Norwood.

¹¹⁶⁴ "Soloists for May Festival to be Chosen Next Monday," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 13 June 1932, 8.

¹¹⁶⁵ "Seat Sale Heavy," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 22 September 1932, 12.

¹¹⁶⁶ "In Society," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 1 September 1933, 4.

¹¹⁶⁷ "Fenway Hotel Opens Monday," *St. Petersburg [Florida] Times*, 20 December 1947, 11. See also [James Woodward Interview](#), [2].

¹¹⁶⁸ "New York Gossip," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 1 April 1934, 18.

¹¹⁶⁹ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Bremen*, from New York, New York, to Southampton, England, 6 April 1934, "Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers," page [1], lines 36–37, Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Inwards Passenger Lists, Series BT26; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Inwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT26, 1472 Pieces, Piece 1053; via "UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960," Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁷⁰ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Majestic*, from Cherbourg, France, to New York, New York, 1 May 1934, "List of United States Citizens," number 9, page 15, lines 4–5, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 5481; via "New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957," Ancestry.com. See also George Stedman Woodward Jr. family, 36 Central Terrace, "Wyoming village, Springfield township," Hamilton County, Ohio, supervisor's district 24, enumeration district 31-365, sheet 24A, lines 1–3, dwelling 531, family 632, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, T626, 2667 reels, reel 1819; via "1930 United States Federal Census," Ancestry.com.

In April 1935 George and Ada donated \$400 to the Cincinnati Community Chest.^[1171] In July of the same year a report on Lake Michigan summer news noted that “Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood have opened their summer home at Forest Beach.”^[1172] The next month a news report noted that George Woodward III, a son of George and Ada’s son George Stedman Woodward Jr., took equestrian lessons at the Little Traverse Bay Riding Academy while “visiting his grandmother and grandfather, Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood, at their Forest Beach cottage.”^[1173]

In April 1936 George and Ada made a donation to a fund to benefit the Cincinnati Children’s Hospital.^[1174] In the same month they made their annual Cincinnati Community Chest donation, this time giving \$450.^[1175]

The next month, they traveled to Europe again. George S. Woodward, 61, “Treasurer,” and Ada M. Woodward, 57, occupation “None,” arrived in Southampton from New York aboard the *Normandie* on 18 May 1936, giving their destination address as “29 Graham Park Rd. Newcastle-on Tyne.”^[1176]

George and Ada gave their last address in the United Kingdom as “Thos. Hedley & Co. Ltd. Newcastle-on-Tyne” on 5 June 1936 when they departed aboard the *Manhattan* from Southampton for New York, with a stop in Cobh, Ireland. George was listed as “Retired,” age 62, and Ada was called a “Housewife,” age 57.^[1177] When the vessel docked in New York on 11 June, the arrival record listed George Woodward, 62, born Cincinnati, address 4311 Floral Avenue, Norwood, Ohio, and Ada Woodward, 57, same information.^[1178]

The Woodwards soon went to Michigan. On 28 June a Cincinnati society column announced that “at Forest Beach, Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward are in their

¹¹⁷¹ “Chest Forty Per Cent of \$1,800,000 Goal,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 30 April 1935, 6.

¹¹⁷² “Mid-July at Traverse Bay is Busy Period,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 14 July 1935, 56.

¹¹⁷³ “Resorts Enjoying August Gayety,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 4 August 1935, 60.

¹¹⁷⁴ “April 23 to May 7,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 10 April 1936, 13.

¹¹⁷⁵ “Contributors to Chest,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 30 April 1936, 10.

¹¹⁷⁶ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Normandie*, from New York, New York, to Southampton, England, 18 May 1936, “Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers,” page [3], lines 123–124, Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Inwards Passenger Lists, Series BT26; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Inwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT26, 1472 Pieces, Piece 1107; via “UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960,” Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁷⁷ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Manhattan*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 5 June 1936, “Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers,” page [1], lines [41]–[42], Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Outwards Passenger Lists, Series BT27; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Outwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT27, 1922 Pieces; via “UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960,” Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁷⁸ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Manhattan*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 11 June 1936, “List of United States Citizens,” number 8, page 20, lines 26–27, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 5815; via “New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957,” Ancestry.com.

delightful summer home, and not far from them their son and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Stedman Woodward, who with their three attractive children, have opened their cottage for the season.”^[1179] A second note appeared in August: “Mr. and Mrs. George Woodward have summered at Forest Beach for years, and now, with this second generation in the next-door cottage, their joy is complete.”^[1180] Later in the month their grandson George Woodward III who was “spending the summer at Forest Beach with his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood” was again a student at the Little Traverse Bay Riding Academy and was to participate in the school’s annual show.^[1181]

A year later in July 1937 George and Ada and their grandson traveled to Camp Fairwood, a children’s summer camp on Torch Lake in northern Michigan: “Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood accompanied their grandson, Mr. George S. Woodward III, when he joined the camp family.”^[1182] In August 1937 George was among those listed as donating to a fund to benefit Cincinnati units of the National Guard.^[1183] The couple again donated \$450 to the Cincinnati Community Chest in April 1938.^[1184]

George and Ada traveled to Europe again later in the year, returning on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, departing Southampton on 2 June 1938. The manifest listed them as George Woodward, 63, “Banker,” and Ada Woodward, 58, “Housewife,” with a last address in the United Kingdom as “c/o Amexco, London.”^[1185] The arrival record showed the couple docking in New York on 9 June. The passenger list named them as George S. Woodward, 64, and Ada M. Woodward, 59, of 4311 Floral Avenue, Norwood.^[1186]

¹¹⁷⁹ “Michigan’s Little Traverse Bay Region Will Welcome Countless Cincinnati Colonists this Year,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 28 June 1936, 61.

¹¹⁸⁰ “Michigan Resorts Enjoying Usual August Gayety,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 2 August 1936, 65–66.

¹¹⁸¹ “Horse Show to Claim Attention of All Ages,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 23 August 1936, 59. The article mistakenly identifies the grandson as “George Woodward IV.”

¹¹⁸² “In Society,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 12 July 1937, 9.

¹¹⁸³ “Boy Gives 59 Cents to Soldier’s Fund,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 19 August 1937, 10.

¹¹⁸⁴ “Larger Chest Donations,” *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 29 April 1938, 3.

¹¹⁸⁵ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Nieuw Amsterdam*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 2 June 1938, “Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers,” page [1], lines [14]–[15], Board of Trade, Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors, Outwards Passenger Lists, Series BT27; via National Archives of the United Kingdom digital publication, *Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Outwards Passenger Lists*, Class BT27, 1922 Pieces; via “UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960,” Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁸⁶ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, *S. S. Nieuw Amsterdam*, from Southampton, England, to New York, New York, 9 June 1938, “List of United States Citizens,” number 13, page 98, lines 7–8, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, N.Y., 1897–1957*, T715, 8892 reels, reel 6165; via “New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820–1957,” Ancestry.com.

As the couple disembarked at New York, an Associated Press photographer took their picture. The image appeared in a Cincinnati newspaper with the following caption:

Woodwards' Voyage Over

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Cincinnati, shown as they arrived Thursday in New York from Europe aboard the steamship Nieuw Amsterdam. Woodward is Treasurer of Procter and Gamble Company.^[1187]

George and Ada celebrated the New Year with a family dinner on 2 January 1939, according to a newspaper society column:

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood entertained with a family New Year's dinner in one of the private dining rooms of the Hotel Alms Monday evening.^[1188]

George was a sponsor of a public service newspaper advertisement published by Cincinnati City Manager C. O. Sherrill on 17 February 1939. The advertisement lamented injury and death caused by careless driving and urged area drivers to remain alert.^[1189] On 18 March 1939 George and Ada and several other family members attended the funeral of Roy T. McClure in Washington Court House, Ohio.^[1190]

Throughout the 1930s George continued to be listed in the Cincinnati directory as Procter & Gamble treasurer.^[1191] In October 1939 he retired from the company, according to a Cincinnati newspaper:

George S. Woodward retired as Treasurer after 49 years' service with the company. Walter H. Tuttle, Assistant Treasurer, was elected to succeed him.

George S. Woodward, Jr., son of the retiring Treasurer, was elected Assistant Treasurer

The elder Woodward has been associated with the company since November 24, 1890, when he started in the Ivorydale factory as office boy and messenger. He was office manager of the Kansas City plant from 1904 to 1907 when he entered the Treasurer's department here. He was elected Treasurer in 1919.

Three sons of Woodward are employed by the company. In addition to the new Assistant Treasurer, another son, Morton P. Woodward, is an executive in the

¹¹⁸⁷ "Woodwards' Voyage Over," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 11 June 1938, 11.

¹¹⁸⁸ "Social Activities of Greater Cincinnati," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 8 January 1939, 58.

¹¹⁸⁹ "An Appeal to the People by Colonel C. O. Sherrill," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 17 February 1939, 9.

¹¹⁹⁰ "Funeral Services for Roy T. McClure," *Washington Court House [Ohio] Record-Herald*, 20 March 1939, 8.

¹¹⁹¹ *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1931 edition, 1793; 1932 edition, 1784; 1933 edition, 1776; 1935 edition, 1792; 1938 edition, 1883; 1939 edition, [1251].

manufacturing department of the company's interests in England, and Vernon Woodward is employed in the superintendent's office at Ivorydale.^[1192]

An official dinner was given to mark George's forty-nine years of service. At the dinner, George spoke about his beginnings with the company and said that as a teenager he had been proud to go to work there:

In fact, I have been proud of my connection with The Procter & Gamble Company ever since.^[1193]

In 1940 George and Ada made an excursion to Cuba. George S. Woodward, 65, and Ada M. Woodward, 61, of Norwood, Ohio, were among the passengers who flew from Havana to Miami on 18 January 1940 aboard American Seaplane NC 752-V.^[1194]

George's grandson Vernon Powell "Woody" (Woodward) Bliss recalled spending time with him in about 1940:

I remember Granddaddy as a gentle, warm and loving—but distant—presence in my life. He provided me a sense of quiet benign authority, one that led me to feel safe. I cannot remember having a conversation with him. I remember as a small child, perhaps, age 5 or 6, jumping into his lap when he was sitting in his chair by the mantle at his home in 4311 Floral Avenue, Norwood, Ohio. He was wearing a gray wool suit, with vest, that smelled "woolly" and nice.

Occasionally I stayed overnight with my grandparents' at their Norwood home, where I slept in a bed with tall slender fluted posts. At breakfast Granddaddy would have next to his place a bronze newspaper holder with the shape of a crowing rooster in it. I remember how he set his morning paper there and read it while he ate his toast and soft-boiled egg with coffee (and probably with bacon) that had been prepared and was served by the long-time maid, Katie, a woman of color.

An extant photograph of Granddaddy with his three sons, all as adults, embodied for me a sense of loving father/son and brotherly community that became a subconscious ideal for me of male role—quietly, knowingly and effectively providing and protecting.^[1195]

On 1 April 1940 the United States census recorded George and Ada at 4311 Floral Avenue. The household included: George S., 65, "Secretary & Treasurer, Wholesale

¹¹⁹² "P. & G. Pays Extra Dividend; Woodward Ends Long Tenure," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 14 October 1939, 16. See also "P. & G. Declares Extra Dividend of 25 Cents a Share," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 14 October 1939, 2.

¹¹⁹³ George Woodward Retirement Speech, 18.

¹¹⁹⁴ George Stedman Woodward and Ada (Morton) Woodward passenger list record, flight number NC 752-V, from Havana, Cuba, to Miami, Florida, 18 January 1940, "Master List," page [1], lines 1–2, Passenger Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at Miami, Florida, 1 January 1936 to 30 June 1948, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Passenger Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at Miami, Florida, 1/2/1936–6/30/1948*, A3993, 122 reels; via "Florida, Passenger Lists, 1898–1963," Ancestry.com.

¹¹⁹⁵ Woody Bliss, "Questions."

Soap, Factory”; Ada, 61, “Wife.” Also residing in the home was Ella Brown, 32, “Maid, Private Family,” “W[hite],” “S[ingle],” worked fifty-two weeks during the previous year, for which she earned \$520, a rate of \$10 per week.^[1196] George and Ada decreased their annual Cincinnati Community Chest donation to \$250 in April 1940.^[1197]

In the late winter and early spring of 1941 George and Ada toured the southwest United States. A 15 April society note announced their return:

Welcome Home.

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward, Sr., were welcomed back to Cincinnati last Wednesday from a holiday spent in the West since mid-January. Following a month’s visit at the picturesque Lodge on the Desert at Tucson, Ariz., Mr. and Mrs. Woodward journeyed on to LaJolla, Calif., where they remained four weeks. Before returning home they also enjoyed a visit of several weeks in Pasadena and San Francisco.^[1198]

Soon after their return from the West, George and Ada matched their previous annual Cincinnati Community Chest donation of \$250 in April 1941.^[1199] In July 1941 George and Ada were at their Michigan cottage where they were visited by their daughter-in-law Charlotte Hanna Woodward and her sons George Woodward III and James Hanna Woodward.^[1200]

George and Ada were in Florida in January 1942, according to a Cincinnati society column:

Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward of Norwood are spending the season at the Hotel Fenway in Dunedin, Florida.^[1201]

In May 1942 George and Ada donated \$425 to the Cincinnati War Chest.^[1202] In August George and Ada visited Camp Fairwood in Michigan. “Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward spent the week end at camp with their grandson, George Woodward III. Together they went to Harbor Point, Mich., where they will remain until after Labor Day.”^[1203] On 10 December of the same year George submitted a claim for social

¹¹⁹⁶ United States 1940 Census, George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, “Norwood, Norwood Township,” Hamilton County, Ohio, ward 5, supervisor’s district 1, enumeration district 31-87, sheet 9B, lines 62–64, household 222, reel 3079.

¹¹⁹⁷ “Who’s Who in Chest Campaign,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 11 April 1940, 2.

¹¹⁹⁸ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 15 April 1941, 6.

¹¹⁹⁹ “Chest Campaign Captains,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 22 April 1941, 3.

¹²⁰⁰ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 12 July 1941, 5.

¹²⁰¹ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 20 January 1942, 10.

¹²⁰² “War Chest Aides Plunge into Final Days of Drive,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 23 May 1942, 14.

¹²⁰³ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 29 August 1942, 5.

security benefits.^[1204] George and Ada donated \$250 to the Cincinnati War Chest in February 1943.^[1205]

George and Ada's grandson Powell recalled traveling with them from Cincinnati to their cottage in Michigan in the mid-1940s:

I remember that when I was probably about 10 years old my cousin Elizabeth Woodward (daughter of Morton and Charlotte Allen Woodward) and I were taken by my grandparents to Woodhaven when they opened the cottage at the beginning of the season. It was a two-day trip in their blue Packard coupe', and the two of us sat in the back seat endlessly singing, *Long Long Ago!* Neither of my grandparents made the slightest objection to what has to have been our somewhat trying singing.

I remember Granddaddy sitting reading (usually a mystery novel) on the front porch at Woodhaven and being at the annual sand-pie birthday parties for Auntie (Cora Morton) and for my second cousin Anne Woodward (Anne McClure Woodward, daughter of Henry and Enid). At those events, as whenever I remember him, he wore a suit and tie.

Granddaddy did not join in the evening board or card games that would frequently be held by my Aunt Cora, grandmother, mother, aunts and other guests with the children.

I do remember that Granddaddy and Grandmother would often take their summer guests for dinner at the Cotton Bale Tearoom in Harbor Springs (in the basement of the octagonal building that housed the Misses Dodge clothing shop above). The family would sit at a large wooden table in the space painted with white walls and green and yellow wooden chairs, tables and woodwork. An order pad was on the table, to be completed for the waitress by the diners. Granddaddy would always ask what 3-course meal each of us wanted and then write all the items on our order pad.^[1206]

In particular, my grandfather Woodward, a man of notably few words, came for me to represent an ideal, as did my uncles Morton and Stedman. The apparent trusting and caring relationship among these men and with Vernon, my dad, was especially important. To me it bespoke male bonding at its best. With these men I felt safe and cared for. Their taciturnity and their tangible respect for each other (as well as for others), their generosity and—it seemed—their wisdom, not flaunted but real, came for me to represent the ideal model of manhood. A picture now in the Woodward archive showing George standing with his three sons seems to me to epitomize that image of model male bonding.^[1207]

¹²⁰⁴ George Stedman Woodward social security claim record, claim date 10 December 1942; via Social Security Administration database, "Social Security Applications and Claims, 1936–2007"; via "U.S., Social Security Applications and Claims Index, 1936–2007," Ancestry.com.

¹²⁰⁵ "Special Gifts," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 13 February 1943, 7.

¹²⁰⁶ Woody Bliss, "Questions."

¹²⁰⁷ Vernon Powell "Woody" (Woodward) Bliss, "Memoir of Powell Woodward, Later Known as Woody Bliss, Written by Himself," April–May 2013, [10], original housed in family archive curated by the author.

In 1944 George and Ada had the walls of their home at 4311 Floral Avenue restored. After finishing one wall a workman penciled a message, “replastered 1944,” before covering it with wallpaper.^[1208]

George and Ada’s annual winter visit to the Fenway Hotel in Dunedin, Florida, was the subject of a news article on 20 December 1947:

Among the guests for the opening of the Fenway’s 19th season, Monday, will be a Christmas family reunion of the George S. Woodward of Cincinnati. Mr. and Mrs. Woodward have been guests at the Fenway for nearly 15 years, and will arrive on the opening day. They will be joined by Mr. and Mrs. George S. Woodward Jr., and family, Morton P. Woodward and family, Miss Kathryn Woodward and Miss Cora Morton.^[1209]

George and Ada’s household at 4311 Floral Avenue as constituted on 1 April 1950 was included in the United States census. The household included: George S., 75, “retired”; and Ada M., 71, “Wife.”^[1210] George turned seventy-seven years old on 19 September 1951, a milestone that was noted in a regular “Today’s Birthdays” feature of the “Mirror of the City” column in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.^[1211]

In June 1954 George and Ada were reported to be at “their summer home at Forest Beach, Mich.”^[1212] A grandson of George and Ada’s son George Jr. was born on 15 January 1955 and named George Stedman Woodward IV. The birth notice stated that “the baby is the great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. George Woodward, who are established for the winter at Dunedin, Fla.”^[1213]

George signed a will on 15 June 1955, leaving to his wife Ada all “household goods and furnishings, jewelry, silverware, glassware, books, pictures, and other articles used in and about our household.” Son George Jr. was bequeathed his summer cottage in Emmet Beach, Michigan. The Central Trust Company was named executor of the estate.^[1214]

George died on 11 October 1955. The announcement of his death stated that his funeral would take place at 2 p.m. on Thursday, 13 October, at Christ Episcopal Church, Glendale.^[1215]

An obituary appeared the next day in a Cincinnati newspaper:

¹²⁰⁸ Owen Findsen, “Bits of Colonial, Victorian Decor Grace Historic Home in Norwood,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 23 May 1984, 27.

¹²⁰⁹ “Fenway Hotel Opens Monday,” *St. Petersburg [Florida] Times*, 20 December 1947, 11.

¹²¹⁰ George Stedman Woodward family, 4311 Floral Avenue, Norwood, Hamilton County, Ohio, enumeration district 31-162, sheet 75, lines 26–27, dwelling 193, Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives; via National Archives microfilm publication, *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950*, T628, 6373 reels, reel 5303; via “1950 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry.com.

¹²¹¹ “Mirror of the City,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 19 September 1951, 8.

¹²¹² “Notes from Glendale,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 27 June 1954, 101.

¹²¹³ “In Society,” *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 26 January 1955, 10.

¹²¹⁴ George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Will Record Books, 343:346; via Hamilton County Probate, “Online Archived Records,” ProbateCt.org.

¹²¹⁵ George Woodward Death Notice.

Mr. Woodward, who was 71 years old, died yesterday in Christ Hospital following a brief illness.

A native of Cincinnati, Mr. Woodward retired in 1939 after 20 years as P&G treasurer, a position now held by his son, George S. Woodward Jr.

The elder Mr. Woodward joined the company in 1890 as office boy and messenger at the Ivorydale plant. He was office manager of the Kansas City plant from 1904 to 1907 when he entered the treasurer's department here. He was elected treasurer in 1919.^[1216]

A summary obituary was carried by the Associated Press, though George's age was misstated by a decade:

P&G Aide Dies. Funeral services will be held tomorrow for George Stedman Woodward, 81, who advanced from a Procter & Gamble Co. office boy to treasurer before his retirement. He died yesterday in Christ Hospital.^[1217]

George's death occurred at Christ Hospital in Cincinnati as a result of "Coronary Thrombosis." Burial in section 100, lot 301, of Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati took place at 3 p.m. on 13 October. The funeral director was Schaefer & Busby and the charges were \$55 for preparation of the grave and \$7.50 for a "grass lining."^[1218] A gravestone carries the following inscription: "George Stedman Woodward 1874–1955."^[1219]

Ada Woodward and her three sons on 19 October signed their consent to the admission of George's will to probate court. The will was presented in Hamilton County Probate Court on 20 October and admitted on 26 October.^[1220] An inventory of George's estate was taken on 14 December and filed 22 December, listing the following: Central Trust Company checking account, \$7,354; American Express traveler's checks, \$40; man's gold Patek Phillipi pocket watch, \$15; 1952 Oldsmobile four-door sedan model S88, \$940; 1954 Packard four-door sedan model 5406, \$2,075; Emmet County State Bank, Harbor Springs, Michigan, account, \$651; real estate at Emmet Beach, Michigan, lot number 16, fractional section 15, township 35 north, range 6

¹²¹⁶ "Services Tomorrow for Retired Official of Procter-Gamble," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Enquirer*, 12 October 1955, 38. See also "George Woodward, is Dead at 71," *Cincinnati [Ohio] Post*, 11 October 1955, 36.

¹²¹⁷ Associated Press, "P&G Aide Dies," Van Wert, Ohio, *Times-Bulletin*, 12 October 1955, 9.

¹²¹⁸ Spring Grove Cemetery Records, George S. Woodward burial record, card 141990.

¹²¹⁹ Find A Grave, George Stedman Woodward gravestone photograph, Tom Perdiew, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio, 5 August 2017, Find A Grave Memorial 79076917, Auto Graver, 21 October 2011.

¹²²⁰ George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Will Record Books, 343:345, 347; via Hamilton County Probate, "Online Archived Records," ProbateCt.org.

west, bordering Little Traverse Bay, conveyed to George S. Woodward by deed recorded in book 137, page 84, Emmet County Register's Office, no value stated.^[1221]

An account of estate expenses was signed by Central Trust Company trust officer Fred Lindsey on 29 October 1956 and filed with the court on 2 November. Expenses included: services of Dr. Albert L. Brown, \$500; services of Dr. David A. Rucker Jr., \$80; services of nurse Mathilda S. Wayman, \$25; patient transportation to Christ Hospital, \$12; Christ Hospital services, \$91; Schaefer & Busby funeral home services, \$1,705; funeral officiating of Rev. Clarke, \$100; services of organist Roland Davis, \$10; Goodall Monument Works for gravestone, \$97; planting ivy at grave and care for one year, \$23; perpetual care of grave, \$500; telephone call to Harbor Springs, Michigan, \$3; death certificates, \$3; legal services of attorney John S. Clark, \$353; final quarterly pledge to the Cincinnati Children's Hospital, \$100; overhaul of pocket watch by Frank Herschede Company, \$25.^[1222] A final accounting signed 2 July 1957 and filed 5 July included additional expenses: executor's compensation, \$2,500; legal services of Dinsmore, Shohl, Dinsmore, & Todd, \$2,506.^[1223]

A 1959 feature in a Cincinnati newspaper titled "20 Years Ago in Cincinnati" noted that George's retirement had occurred two decades earlier.^[1224]

Ada died on 14 February 1984 at the age of 105.^[1225] The estate of George S. Woodward was reopened on 5 June 1984 closed on 20 September 1984.^[1226]

Children of George Stedman and Ada Nellie (Morton) Woodward:^[1227]

- i. MORTON POWELL¹⁰ WOODWARD, born 1 September 1900; married (1) CHARLOTTE WINTRINGHAM ALLEN, (2) ESTER ARABELLA CLAFLIN WOODWARD.
- ii. GEORGE STEDMAN WOODWARD JR., born 29 September 1903; married (1) CHARLOTTE HANNA, (2) ELIZABETH A. GRAHAM.
- iii. VERNON WOODWARD, born 27 January 1906; married HILMA HOHRATH.

¹²²¹ George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Inventory Record Books, 319:54–56; via Hamilton County Probate, "Online Archived Records," ProbateCt.org.

¹²²² George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Account Record Books, 748:511–512; via Hamilton County Probate, "Online Archived Records," ProbateCt.org.

¹²²³ George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Account Record Books, 757:577–578; via Hamilton County Probate, "Online Archived Records," ProbateCt.org.

¹²²⁴ "20 Years Ago in Cincinnati," *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 13 October 1959, 15.

¹²²⁵ Powell Family Bible Extracts.

¹²²⁶ George S. Woodward probate record, Hamilton County, Ohio, estate number 202010, 26 October 1955, Hamilton County Probate Court, Estate, Trust, and Guardianship Docket Books, 200:550; via Hamilton County Probate, "Online Archived Records," ProbateCt.org.

¹²²⁷ Woodward and Woodward, "Descendants," 225. See also Lundberg Family Charts, family unit chart 4-5. See also Vernon Woodward birth record, 27 January 1906, Kansas City, Missouri, "Record of Births—Kansas City, Missouri," January 1906, p. 170, No. 38669; via Missouri State Archives microfilm publication, *Missouri Birth Records*; via "Missouri, Birth Registers, 1847–1910," Ancestry.com. See also "Suburban," *Cincinnati* [Ohio] *Enquirer*, 11 April 1926, 78.

